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26 FEBRUARY 1980

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26 February 1980

# Translation

Handbook for the Party Activist

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## HANDBOOK FOR THE PARTY ACTIVIST

Moscow KNIZHKA PARTIYNOGO AKTIVISTA in Russian 1980 signed to press 22 Jun 79 pp 24-174

Pamphlet compiled by A. V. Shumakov, Politizdat Publishers, 500,000 copies; USSR National Anthem and Introductory Biographical Information not Translated

CONTENTS	PAGE
L. I. Brezhnev Concerning Ideological Work .....	1
Leninism--The Science of the Revolutionary Struggle and of Communist Creation (On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin) .....	5
New Stage in the Development of the CPSU Agrarian Policy .....	11
Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan .....	22
The Development of Siberia and the Far East is Job for Millions .....	33
The Foreign Policy Activity of the CPSU .....	41
Socialist Internationalism in Action (30 Years of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).....	55
The Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist and Workers' Movement .....	62
Memorable Dates .....	76
The First Popular Revolution in Russia .....	76
9 May--Victory Day: 35 Years of the Great Victory .....	82
Consultations .....	90
Intraparty Democracy .....	90
Work with Ideological Personnel Requires Daily Attention .....	102
Moscow--Capital of the 1980 Olympics .....	109

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[III - USSR - 35 FOUO]

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : HANDBOOK FOR THE PARTY ACTIVIST

Russian title : KNIZHKA PARTIYNOGO AKTIVISTA

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : A. V. Shumakov

Publishing House : Politizdat

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : 1980

Signed to press : 22 Jun 79

Copies : 500,000

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L. I. BREZHNEV CONCERNING IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Text] The general line of Communists in questions of the ideology, is, in essence, a united line. And the reinforcement of the ideological unity, the consistent observance of the Leninist principles governing the struggle against every deviation from Marxism-Leninism, from socialist internationalism, is, as we have been convinced, our common constant obligation, our duty to the workers of the socialist countries and to the worldwide working class.

One of the most important sectors in our party's activity is ideological work. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is a powerful, invincible weapon used by our party and our nation in the struggle for communism. And it is the duty of Communists to have complete mastery of that weapon and to use it skillfully.

Under present-day conditions, something that is taking on greater and greater importance is such an important aspect in the party's activity as its ideological work, the formation of the political philosophy of the man of socialist and communist society, and the unmasking of bourgeois ideology.

The present-day conditions advance new tasks in the party's ideological activity. The practical situation in the party organizations suggests to us the path by following which we can achieve an increase in its effectiveness. That is the comprehensive approach to the posing of the entire job of education, that is, the guaranteeing of the close unity of the ideological-political, labor, and moral education, with a consideration of the peculiarities of various groups of workers.

The building of mature socialism and communism presupposes an increased amount of attention to the development of science and culture, to questions of the communist education of the masses. On the other hand, under conditions of the increasingly complete affirmation of the principles of peaceful

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coexistence of states with different social systems, special importance is attached to the struggle of ideas, the increased application of our efforts to disseminate throughout the world the truth about socialism, the struggle against all types of ideology that is hostile to socialism.

Ideological, propaganda, and mass-agitational work is an important and responsible sphere in the party's activity.

A task of ideological work which is of primary importance. . . lies in the development of the creative, conscious participation of the broad masses of the workers. In order to be a revolutionary, a true Leninist, it is not enough to work honestly. It is necessary to show constant concern for the economic and defense might of the socialist Motherland. It is necessary to have a clear understanding of our goals, profound devotion to the party cause, to the cause of communism. It is necessary to have a thrifty attitude toward the social wealth, to observe socialist labor discipline, and to demonstrate a well-principled attitude and civil bravery in the fight against survivals of capitalism -- self-seeking, bureaucratism, and slackness -- and the slightest deviations from Soviet laws and the norms of communist morality.

The most important thing now consists in raising still higher the level of all links in the party's ideological work. We must remember Lenin's instruction to the effect that outside of conscious labor and social activity there is no communist education and there can be none. Ideological work as a whole must be closely linked with life, with the practical situation in communist construction. Otherwise, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, it turns into political twaddle. The mobilization of the workers for the successful solution of the tasks in the creation of the material-technical base of communism, the formation of a scientific political philosophy, of Communist morality in all members of society, the education of a completely developed individual -- those are the goals of the party's ideological work.

The building of communism is based upon the powerful creative forces of the people. This imposes special obligations on the party -- the obligations of constantly improving the organizer, political, economic, and ideological work.

An inseparable quality in every Communist must be an implacable attitude toward the hostile bourgeois ideology.

A factor of great importance is the fight against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, and reformism. We must always remember that our class enemy is imperialism. It is conducting subversive activities against the socialist system, against its principles, ideology, and morality. Imperialism's gigantic propaganda apparatus corrupts the individual, and attempts to lead the masses away from politics. The fight against bourgeois ideology must be, under all circumstances, an uncompromising one, since it is a class struggle, the struggle for man, for his dignity and freedom, for the reinforcement of the positions of socialism and communism. It is

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a struggle in the interests of the international working class.

It is necessary not only to unmask the falsity of bourgeois propaganda, not only to point out the fact that imperialism is doomed. It is also necessary in every way to reveal the great truth of communist ideas, to point out the successes achieved in the communist construction in our country. The motto of our propaganda is its high ideological content, its effectiveness, its aggressive, responsive nature, and its accessibility for hundreds of millions of people, including those living beyond the boundaries of our Motherland.

It is no secret that we still feel among us, not infrequently, social defects which were inherited from the past and which, in essence, are alien to socialism. Such defects include an unconscientious attitude toward labor, a slackness, lack of disciplined spirit, a money-grubbing attitude, and various violations of the norms that govern socialist communal life. The party considers it its duty to direct the attention of our society as a whole to these phenomena, to mobilize the nation in the decisive struggle against them, in the struggle to overcome them, since otherwise it will be impossible for us to build communism.

In the ideological work that the party is carrying out, one of the first places is given to the task of educating in Soviet citizens a new, communist attitude toward labor.

The Soviet authority and the Soviet nation are a united whole. In this inviolable unity lies the source of the greatest durability of our social system. And there is nowhere in the world any force that could shake that unity!

It would be a great mistake to assume that man needs only material incentives. No, the Soviet citizen needs much more -- the awareness of his participation in a large job, his striving to express himself in labor, his pride in his own skills, his respect for his comrades, and his own self-esteem.

We went out onto the virgin land in order simultaneously to settle it, to get it moving, and to harvest the grain. In confirming socialism, Soviet citizens began a lot on a naked spot in order to get ahead of time. The party openly told those whom it had called upon to go out onto the virgin land: it will be difficult, very difficult. You have a difficult fight ahead of you, and every fight requires exploits. And hundreds of thousands of our country's patriots -- the future "virgin-landers" -- consciously went out to perform those exploits.

We reject both the preaching of poverty and asceticism and the cult of consumption, the psychology of the philistine, for whom the kopeck, to use Gor'kiy's apt expression, is the sun in his heaven. Material blessings for us are not a goal in themselves, but, rather, the prerequisite for the complete development of the individual. Therefore it is important for the

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upsurge in the standard of living to be accompanied by the enrichment of people's inner life, by the formation of the correct understanding of the goal and meaning of life.

Modern economics, politics, and social life are so complicated that they can be influenced only by powerful collective intelligence. And it is necessary to listen to the specialists, the scientists, and not merely those that represent just one trend or one school. No, it is necessary to be able to get advice from the people, in order to avoid all kinds of any "balkings," or any overly hasty, poorly thought-out, willful decisions.

Ideological work is a job for our entire party, for all Communists. We must always remember that the ideological influence upon the masses, the high effectiveness of agitational-propaganda work as a whole is directly dependent upon the force of the personal example provided by the party members and the leaders.

The leaders of the party, Soviet, and economic organizations, the workers on the ideological front, should always remember Lenin's principle to the effect that very important indicators of the effectiveness of the educational and organizer work are the level of the workers' political participation and the state of the socialist discipline of labor.

The gauge of the success in the political education of the masses, of course, is provided by concrete deeds. Adherence to Communist ideology is a welding together of knowledge, conviction, and practical action.

The level of the work performed by the party organization, the level of ideological work, should be judged primarily on the basis of how the productions assignments are being fulfilled, how the labor productivity is increasing, what the state of the labor discipline is, and the degree of implacability with which the fight is being waged against all manifestations of lack of organizational spirit and of slackness. It is necessary constantly to be guided by Lenin's instruction to the effect that, outside of conscious labor and social activity, there is no Communist education and there can be none.

We must strive for the maximum degree of businesslike principles, of concreteness, of responsiveness -- that is what V. I. Lenin taught us. These requirements must be met by the economic, organizational, and, probably to no less degree, the mass-political, ideological work.

Soviet man today is politically more literate and more active than he has ever been before. He legally is making high demands upon the means of mass information. It is the duty of the workers on the ideological front to improve the quality and effectiveness of their work, and to improve its forms and methods.

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LENINISM--THE SCIENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND OF COMMUNIST  
CREATION (ON THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF V. I. LENIN)

V. I. Lenin has gone down in history as a brilliant thinker and ardent revolutionary, a faithful continuer of the work of K. Marx and F. Engels, the founder of the Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the leader of the first socialist state, and the outstanding leader of the worldwide communist and workers' movement. His life, which he devoted completely to the liberation of the proletariat, is an inexhaustible torch of revolutionary energy, a summons to improvement and progress, an example of selfless service to mankind and of the struggle for the interests and the happiness of the workers and for socialism.

The historic merit of V. I. Lenin consists in that, on the dividing line between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during the advancing era of imperialism, he defended, in the struggle against the rightist and "leftist" opportunists, and raised high the banner of the revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels, and creatively developed it as applicable to the new conditions. That corresponded to the fundamental need of the revolutionary movement in the twentieth century, when the proletarian revolution had come onto the agenda.

"Leninism," one reads in the Policy Statement of the CPSU Central Committee on the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, "is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the era of the defeat of colonialism and the victory of the national-liberation movements, the era of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and of the building of a communist society." The Soviet nation is rightfully proud of the fact that it was precisely our country that became the homeland of Leninism -- that great, eternally young, victorious theory that points out to all mankind the only true path to a bright, happy life.

V. I. Lenin was the creator of the combative party of the working class, a new type of party -- a party armed with revolutionary theory, that was capable of leading the masses and overthrowing the old, bourgeois society and of building the new, socialist society. "The new type of party," L. I. Brezhnev says, "is . . . the highest embodiment of the inseparable unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. It is the greatest heritage that was left by Lenin for the worldwide revolutionary movement, for the builders of socialism and communism."

The creation and education of the new type of party was a job for Lenin's whole life. From a few Marxist groups to a detachment of 350,000 inflexible warriors for their nation's cause, warriors who headed the epochal victory of the Russian proletariat -- such was the path that was traveled by the party of Bolsheviks under the leadership of V. I. Lenin during the pre-revolutionary years. Expressing the fundamental interests of the working class and all the workers, and the objective needs of the new society, the Communist Party is executing with distinction the tasks that were imposed

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upon it by history and has been leading the Soviet nation along the Leninist path, personifying the mind, honor, and conscience of our era.

Inseparably linked with the name of V. I. Lenin is the fundamental turning point in the history of mankind -- the transition from capitalism to socialism. Leninist theory concerning socialist revolution withstood stern tests in the course of three Russian revolutions and became the property of the entire international workers' movement.

A genuine triumph of Leninist theory and tactics in the class struggle was the victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution of the working class of Russia in alliance with the poorest peasantry. The overthrowing of the exploiter classes, the establishment of the political power of the working class on one-sixth of the world's surface laid the path for the carrying out of the age-old yearnings of the working nation and opened up a new era in world history -- the era of the collapse of capitalism and the building of communism.

Lenin has gone down in history not only as a very great thinker and revolutionary strategist, but also as a brilliant creator of a new life. "An indefatigable fighter for the victory of socialist ideas," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "Lenin became the architect and builder of the majestic structure of socialism." The Leninist plan for the building of socialism is a powerful theoretical and practical weapon in the hands of the Communist Party in the fight for the creation of a new society. Lenin's ideas concerning the paths for the creation of socialism, concerning its basic principles and underlying natural laws continue today to serve as a reliable guide for action for the builders of the new world.

The founder and leader of the world's first state of workers and peasants, Lenin also became the organizer of socialist construction. Within six years after the victory of the Great October, under his immediate guidance, our country resolved the very complicated questions of the establishment of the state structure and economy, science and technology, culture and education, and the social and national relations in the new society. That was a gigantic amount of work, the content and results of which continue to exert an effect upon the course of world history.

Industrialization, collectivization, and the cultural revolution were the realization of Lenin's ideas for the construction of socialism, the direct continuation of the job that had been begun by V. I. Lenin. They have converted our Motherland into a mighty socialist power. "The job of building socialism," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "has raised such a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm, of inspired, selfless labor that it literally swept away all the obstacles on the path to socialism. That which was a plan has become a reality. That was the epochal victory of the Soviet nation, the victory of Leninism."

In the severe tests and fierce engagements against fascism during the years of the Great Patriotic War, the socialist social and state structure

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demonstrated in full measure its indestructible solidity and tremendous viability, and the Soviet nation demonstrated the greatest devotion to the cause of the party and communism, and to the Leninist banner. The Soviet nation not only defended the freedom and independence of our Motherland, but also made a decisive contribution toward the salvation of world civilization from fascism.

After healing, within the briefest periods of time, the wounds that had been inflicted by the war, the Soviet nation made a great leap forward. "Comrades, we have things to be proud of when giving a report of ourselves to the memory of Lenin. . . For the first time in the history of world civilization," L. I. Brezhnev said, "socialism won completely and finally, a mature socialist society was built, and the conditions for the successful building of communism were created."

The building of mature socialism in our country was the true triumph of the Leninist, a majestic monument to the immortal theory and cause of V. I. Lenin. The tremendous achievements of the party and nation were revealed in the reports given by L. I. Brezhnev at the jubilee solemn session devoted to the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the extraordinary 7th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and our country's Basic Law. "The new Constitution," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is, one might say, the concretized result of the entire 60 years of development of the Soviet state. It brilliantly attests to the fact that the ideas proclaimed by the Great October, the behests of Lenin, are being successfully implemented."

Following the guidelines set down by Lenin, the party at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses defined the strategy and tactics of communist construction at the modern stage of our history. The basic idea of that political course is the complete implementation of the inexhaustible capabilities and historic advantages of mature socialism for the further successful advancement in all directions of social progress.

The party and the Soviet nation are successfully carrying out new tasks in a decisive sphere of communist construction -- the economy. The celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin occurs at the final stage in the intensive, creative work to fulfill and overfull the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan -- the five-year plan of effectiveness and quality.

During the years that have elapsed since the 25th CPSU Congress there has been a substantial increase in our country's economic potential. Great successes were achieved by the workers in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, and the public-services sphere. A future increase was achieved in the workers' real income, retail commodity turnover, and the volume of everyday services provided to the public. Millions of new apartments with all the amenities have been put into operation.

Comprehensive programs are being carried out on a tremendous scale --



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programs for the transformation of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, the eastern and other parts of the country, programs aimed at the resolution not only of the current needs of the economy, but also of the future ones. The country is consistently following the line of increasing the effectiveness of social production and the quality of work on the basis of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the improvement of the planning and administration of the national economy, and the intensification of economy measures, the state of organization, and discipline at every work site. Thus, under new conditions one sees the implementation of the Leninist instruction concerning the decisive role played by the increase in labor productivity for the victory of the new social system.

The years that elapsed after the 25th CPSU Congress have shown that its political course guarantees the steady reinforcement and development of the economic and defense might of the USSR, the improvement of socialist social relations, the reinforcement of the friendship among nations, and the further advance of our Motherland toward communism.

A mighty accelerating factor for our entire development has been the constantly growing political and labor participation of Soviet citizens.

Lenin attached great importance to the development of the consciousness of the masses, which, as he wrote, "continues to be the base and the chief content of our entire work." In the process of socialist and communist construction in our country, the new Soviet man has grown up and been educated.

The high political consciousness of Soviet citizens is formed by the entire socialist system, by our entire way of life, but an especially important factor in this is the role played by active, purposeful ideological-educational work. After the 25th CPSU Congress, the party's Central Committee adopted a number of decrees which are of fundamental importance for the intensification of the ideological-educational influence of the party upon the masses on the basis of the broad application of the comprehensive approach to the entire job of the communist education of the workers. A major event in our country's social and political life was the publication of the two-volume work by L. I. Brezhnev, *Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS* [Vital Questions in the Ideological Work of the CPSU]. A manifestation of the party's constant concern for the formation of the new man was the adoption by the CPSU Central Committee of the decree entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work."

The job of communist education, like the rest of the party's revolutionary-transforming activities, is constructed by the party on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Thanks to the tremendous amount of propaganda-and-agitation work, the mass assimilation of Marxism-Leninism has become the distinguishing feature of the present-day development of social awareness. The highest goal of the ideological-educational work is

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the formation in every Soviet citizen of communist conviction.

The ideological-educational, propaganda work among the masses is closely tied in by the party with the practice of communist creation and with economic activity. Herein lies yet another manifestation of the party's devotion to the ideas of Lenin, who taught that propaganda as a whole must be based upon the political experience of economic construction, and its principal task consists in demonstrating in a practical manner how one must build the new society.

Setting down the complicated tasks of communist construction, the party creatively, with a consideration of the concrete historical conditions, on the basis of V. I. Lenin's instructions, intensifies the ideological-educational work among the masses, raising that work to a new level that conforms to the present-day needs of social development.

The party, in a Leninist manner, places a high evaluation upon, and takes all steps to maintain, the social creativity of the masses. It attaches great importance to the practical implementation of the statutes and principles in the new USSR Constitution, to the broad involvement of the workers in active administrative work, and to the more complete use of their experience and knowledge in the resolution of all social and state affairs.

A brilliant expression of the experience in the building of a new life, the organization and education of the masses, the creation of an atmosphere of universal upsurge, was provided by L. I. Brezhnev's works *Malaya zemlya* [Little Land], *Vozrozhdeniye* [Rebirth], and *Tselina* [Virgin Land]. Resuscitating the glorious pages of the heroic history of the Soviet nation, these books are linked, by their entire content, with the implementation of today's tasks, serve as a powerful incentive for the improvement of the style and methods of party-political and educational work, and teach one a creative, party approach to the execution of one's social duty.

With every passing year the victorious advance of Leninist ideas is broadening throughout the world. "The scope of Lenin's mind and deeds is so vast, and the depth of his ability to understand and express the needs of his era was so great," L. I. Brezhnev says, "that to this very day the Leninist ideas represent a mighty weapon in the hands of the fighters for the happiness of nations. There is no corner of the earth where the name of Lenin does not sound as a burning summons to the struggle against oppression, lawlessness, and exploitation, as a symbol of combat unity, as a pledge of victory in the historic struggle for the triumph of the communist ideals." The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that today the Leninist ideas of the social transformation of the world find their embodiment in the brilliant, impressive picture of the steadily growing worldwide revolutionary process, a process that is extremely varied in its forms.

The community of socialist states has become a leading factor in world politics, the most dynamic economic force in the world. The reinforcement

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of their solidarity, their steady and complete rapprochement, and the deepening of the fraternal friendship among the ruling communist and workers' parties are considerably intensifying the effect exerted by world socialism upon the course of international events.

Something that became an event of historic importance was the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, a collapse that had been predicted by Lenin, and the entry onto the arena of independent politics of more than 90 young national states with a population of more than 2 billion persons. In conformity with Lenin's scientifically substantiated prospect of the noncapitalistic development of the economically backward countries, a number of liberated states chose a socialist orientation and began to carry out profound changes in all spheres of social life. There has been a strengthening of the combative alliance of socialism and the national-liberation movement, which is something that Lenin dreamed about.

The entire course of international development confirms the historic rightness of Lenin's theory concerning the inevitable collapse of the last exploiter system -- capitalism. Under present-day conditions, when there has been a considerable aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, the essence and causes of which crisis were profoundly analyzed by Lenin, the class struggle in the imperialist states takes on greater and greater scope. In certain of those imperialist states new revolutionary opportunities are opening up.

In the new historic situation, under the conditions of the upsurge of all the revolutionary, liberating forces of modern life, the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, remain a powerful, time-tested weapon of the communist and workers' movement, and its very basis. "Communists," states the Message of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, "see their task in engaging in the struggle against any opponents and firmly defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in steadily implementing them, constantly developing Marxist-Leninist theory, and enriching it on the basis of the present-day experience of the class struggle and the building of the socialism society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism."

Leninism is the victorious banner of the revolutionary renovation of the world. It is precisely for that reason that there is not a single day when our ideological enemies ease up on their fierce attacks. Today all the forces of the bourgeois propaganda machine have been dumped onto Leninism and the entire arsenal of ideological methods is being used. The theory and practice of Leninism is being actively opposed not only by obvious apologists of capitalism, but also by their disguised henchmen -- social-reformers, rightist and "leftist" opportunists, and various kinds of renegades. But all their efforts are doomed to failure. Leninism has always been and continues to be the most advanced and most influential ideology in the modern world and the invincible ideology of those to whom the future belongs.

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Inseparably linked with the name of Lenin, who developed the principles of socialist foreign policy, are the successes achieved by the Soviet Union and all the fraternal countries of socialism in the struggle to reorganize the entire system of modern international relations on the basis of the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. From the Leninist Peace Decree to the new USSR Constitution and the foreign-policy programs of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses -- the entire history of more than 60 years of the Soviet state has convincingly attested to the fact that, as L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "the first state of victorious socialism has imprinted on its banner eternally the word 'Peace' as the highest principle of its foreign policy, which conforms to the interests of its own nation and all the other nations on earth."

While surmounting the stubborn resistance of the reactionary and imperialistic forces and the Beijing [Peking] leadership who have openly formed a bloc with them, the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are persistently striving for the deepening of the process of detente, the expansion of peaceful cooperation, and primarily the limitation of the arms race that is being waged by imperialism, and the changeover to universal and complete disarmament. "Disarmament," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "is the ideal of socialism."

The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union -- a consistently internationalistic, genuinely democratic and profoundly peace-loving policy -- enjoys a tremendous amount of authority throughout the world and encounters the broadest support on the part of the workers in all countries.

In the resolution of the majestic tasks of communist construction, the struggle for peace and social progress, our party, which was created and educated by V. I. Lenin, relies upon his immortal teaching, under the banner of which the Great October was victorious, the mature socialist society was created, and socialism became a world system that exerts a decisive effect upon the course of international events. "The great energy of Lenin's mind, the beating of Lenin's ardent heart," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev says, "continue to live in the deeds of the party. Lenin's ideas, Lenin's political tempering, Lenin's science of winning -- those are the inexhaustible source from which we draw self-confidence about our capabilities, our bravery and optimism, our will to win."

In faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and to its mighty creative spirit, the CPSU sees a very important condition and guarantee of the successes in communist creation, in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of peace and progress on a worldwide scale.

NEW STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CPSU AGRARIAN POLICY

In the implementation of the economic policy of the CPSU, which is aimed at the steady rise in the standard of living of the Soviet citizens, an important role is played by socialist agriculture. Agricultural output

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and the commodities produced from it constitute more than two-thirds of the retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade. The Communist Party views the planned and dynamic development of agriculture as a task of national importance.

In the area of agriculture, the 25th CPSU Congress noted, "the party advances two interrelated goals. The first is to achieve the reliable supplying of the country with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, always having sufficient reserves for this purpose. And the second is to proceed farther and farther along the path of bringing closer together the material and cultural-everyday conditions of life in the city and in the countryside." Both these goals are of fundamental political and economic importance and evolve from the requirements stated in the program. They express the party line in communist construction in the rural areas.

The profoundly scientific substantiation of this line was provided in the modern agrarian policy of the CPSU, the beginning of which was laid by the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The Plenum took a firm course aimed at the cardinal resolution of the vital problems of agriculture, the carrying out of broad social reforms in the rural areas. The political line set down by that Plenum was developed and deepened by subsequent Plenums of the Central committees, CPSU congresses, and in the reports and statements of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev, and in other party documents.

An important contribution to the further creative development of the agrarian policy was made by the July 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The policy that was developed by the party reflects the new conditions and growing needs of mature socialism, evolves from the fundamental interests of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intellectuals, and acts as an inseparable component of the general political course of the CPSU. In its theoretical essence, it is a continuation and development of the Leninist agrarian program under new historic conditions. "Lenin's teaching concerning the agrarian question, the ideas and principles of his cooperative plan," L. I. Brezhnev states, "were and continue to be standard equipment for our party. The CPSU has invariably been guided by them and, with a consideration of the specific historic conditions, is developing them further."

Consistently implementing the policy that was developed, the party during the years that elapsed since the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee assured the resolution of a large number of agrarian problems. Our country's agriculture confidently took the path of its planned and dynamic upsurge and its complete progress.

There has been a considerable strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture on the basis of the acceleration of the rates of mechan-

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zation, chemicalization, and reclamation of the land, and the comprehensive resolution of the problems of development in that branch. The degree of technical equipment of production during 1966-1977 rose in the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises by a factor of 2.8; the degree of power supply for labor, by a factor of 2.5; and the consumption of electric power in agriculture, by a factor of 4. The composition of the machine-tractor pool has been almost completely renewed, and there has been an increase in it of the share of machines that have greater capacity, load-carrying ability, and productivity. The average capacity of tractors in 1977 increased, as compared with 1965, by a factor of more than 1.6. The chemicalization and reclamation of the land were raised to the level of the resolution of large state tasks. At the present time the amount of mineral fertilizers that are being applied to the fields is 3 times greater than in 1965, and the area of reclaimed land increased during that time by a factor of almost 2, surpassing 31 million hectares. The achievements of science and technology, new progressive technologies, and modern forms of production and labor are being introduced on a broader and broader scale into kolkhoz and sovkhoz production, and there has been a steady process of specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. Under the effect of the scientific-technical revolution, there have been deeper and deeper quantitative and qualitative shifts in the productive forces of agriculture.

Carrying out a line aimed at the complete intensification of agricultural production, the party carries out major steps also aimed at the development of branches of industry, which in their totality constitute the industrial complex of agriculture. As was noted at the July 1978 Plenum of the Central Committee, there has been, in essence, a complete reorganization of such specialized branches as water management and reclamation, machine building for animal husbandry and fodder production, rural construction, and the combined-fodder and microbiological industry. Other areas that received broad development were tractor and agricultural machine building, the capacities for the production of mineral fertilizers, and the processing industry.

All this required of the state and the kolkhozes a tremendous amount of capital investments in agriculture and the other branches of the agro-industrial complex, and the broader use of the country's economic potential in the interests of the countryside. During 1966-1977 these investments constituted 466 billion rubles, which sum is 3.3 times greater than during the entire preceding period of socialist construction. There was more than a tripling of the volume of construction-and-installation operations in rural areas.

During those years the party devoted a large amount of attention to the economic measures for developing agriculture, for training skilled personnel, and the resolution of the social problems in the life of the countryside. Carried out in complex, those measures contributed to the considerable

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reinforcement of the economy of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to the increase in their income. The payment of the labor performed by the kolkhoz members and sovkhozes workers, as compared with 1965, doubled, and the total amount of pensions paid to kolkhoz members and payments of social security benefits more than quadrupled. In rural areas there has been a broader and broader extension of housing-everyday and cultural construction. During the period that has elapsed, capital investments in the social development of the rural areas have exceeded 40 billion rubles. That constitutes three-fourths of such investments in this sphere during the entire history of the Soviet state.

The multifaceted and purposeful activity of the party in implementing the broad, comprehensive program of developing agriculture has borne impressive fruit. In agricultural production during recent times there have been fundamental changes and the quantitative and qualitative indices have improved. The average annual volume of its gross output during 1971-1977 increased, as compared with the corresponding period prior to the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, by a factor of 1.4, including the production of grain with an increase, on the average for the year, by almost 1.5 times; cotton, 1.6; sugar beets and vegetables, 1.4; meat, 1.5; milk, 1.4; and eggs, 1.9 times, and the production of output in terms of an individual worker on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, 1.7 times. There has been an increase in the productivity of vegetable husbandry and animal husbandry. For example, the average harvest yield of grain crops increased from 10.2 quintals per hectare in the Seventh Five-Year Plan to 16.3 quintals per hectare in 1976-1977; the average annual milk yield per cow increased from 1965 to 1977 by 454 kilograms, or by 23 percent. At the present time more than 90 percent of the total increase in agricultural output is achieved as a result of the intensive factors. There has been a considerable reinforcement of the economy on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and an increase in the effectiveness of agricultural production.

The very important social meaning of the work that has been done by the party consists in that the increase in agricultural production made it possible to satisfy more completely the needs of Soviet citizens for foodstuffs and manufactured commodities made of agricultural raw materials.

A new stage in the fight for the further upsurge of agriculture was opened up by the July 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It pointed out the following fundamental directions:

- a) the concentration of the party's attention in the resolution of the vital problems of agricultural production on the elimination of any bottlenecks, the more effective use of the funds invested in that branch, the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for the Tenth Five-Year Plan for increasing the production and procurements of agricultural products, and the reinforcement of the material-technical base of the rural areas;
- b) the working out of those trends in the further development of agriculture and other branches which would assure its industrialization and

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scientific-technical progress, the successful fulfillment of the task posed by the party for the conversion of agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy, the reinforcement of the economic condition of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the further improvement of the planning of production and the social development of the rural areas.

"The main task that we pose before agriculture," L. I. Brezhnev said at the Plenum, "is to achieve the complete, dynamic development of all its branches, the reliable supplying of the country with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials in such a way that the increase in their production will assure the further considerable rise in the national standard of living. Simultaneously we must multiply the efforts in the resolution of the tasks of bringing closer together the material and cultural-everyday conditions of life in the urban and rural areas."

In the materials and documents of the July 1978 Plenum, there was a complete consideration of all the very important problems and trends in agricultural production and social progress in the rural areas. In the report "The Further Development of USSR Agriculture," which was given at the Plenum by L. I. Brezhnev, there was a deeply scientific analysis of the party's policy and practical activities in developing socialist agriculture at the modern stage, a definition of the basic paths for its further upsurge, and an indication of the chief long-term goals. L. I. Brezhnev's report and the Plenum's decisions constitute a major contribution to the development of the Leninist agrarian theory under conditions of mature socialism and they contain statements of policy which are of fundamental importance for working out the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

In the measures that have been worked out, provision is made for increasing the average annual gross harvest of grain in 1981-1985 to 238-243 million tons, and by 1990 to increase it to one ton in terms of per-capita population. For these purposes it is planned to assure everywhere the dynamic increase in the harvest yield of grain crops and to increase it during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, for the country as a whole, to 20 quintals per hectare, and in such areas as the Northern Caucasus, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and certain other areas, to 35-40 quintals per hectare, at the same time that the gross harvest of grain in the Ninth Five-Year Plan constituted 181.6 million tons, and the average harvest yield was 14.7 quintals per hectare.

The resolution of this task has a real basis: the resolution rests upon the achievements of modern science. Whereas in 1965 the number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with a grain-crop harvest yield of 20 quintals or more per hectare constituted 15 percent of their total number, in 1977-1978 the number is already approximately half of all farms.

The July 1978 Plenum of the Central Committee advanced as a very important, primary task the considerable increase in the production of meat, which by the end of the next five-year plan is supposed to reach 19.5 million tons (slaughtered weight). According to its scale, this is a very large and very complicated task. In order to achieve this goal, the rates of increase in meat production during the next seven years must be twice as



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high as during 1971-1977 and must constitute approximately 700,000 tons a year.

The basic paths for the accelerated growth of animal husbandry, according to party policy, lie in the broad introduction of intensive methods of production, the increase in the productivity of the livestock and poultry, and in the improvement of all the qualitative indicators, and this, obviously, does not preclude also the increase in the number of head of livestock and poultry. Tremendous importance in the further upsurge of animal husbandry is attached to the fundamental improvement of fodder production, to the conversion of it onto an industrial basis. For these purposes, during the period of the preparation for the Plenum of the Central Committee, important decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers were developed and adopted for the comprehensive development of fodder production in the country in 1978-1985. The production of combined fodders by 1985 is supposed to be almost doubled as compared with the present level.

In the party's overall plans, an important place is given to the development of agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. The Plenum of the Central Committee reemphasized the great importance to the national economy of the successful resolution of the problems in that extensive area, and pointed out the necessity of the most rapid elimination of the lag in the fulfillment of the program for the transformation of the Nonchernozem Zone. A broader place must be occupied by questions of the development of agriculture in the overall complex of measures to increase the economic potential of Siberia and the Far East. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which the public's needs for the basic products there are satisfied to the maximum degree by the local production.

After defining the strategic line in the development of agriculture in the process of communist construction, the July 1978 Plenum of the Central Committee thoroughly substantiated the ways and means of achieving the goals that had been set. "... The transition of agriculture to an industrial base," L. I. Brezhnev said at the Plenum, "is one of our fundamental tasks."

That means the complete technical re-equipping of the branches of agriculture in conformity with the needs of the scientific-technical revolution, the comprehensive mechanization of production processes, the thorough technological reorganization of production, the conversion of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, the complete development of the sphere of production and technical services provided to the rural areas, and the formation of a new type of worker. In the process of communist construction, our agriculture, from the point of view of the level of technical equipment, the amount of energy provided to labor, and the degree of the use of the achievements of science and technology, must gradually enter the same rank as highly developed modern industry.

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By the next five-year plan it is intended to complete the comprehensive mechanization of the cultivation of all the most important agricultural crops and, to the maximum degree, to raise the level of mechanization of animal husbandry. At the present time agriculture, with regard to the capital-labor ratio, is still lagging behind socialist industry by a factor of 1.5 and has a large number of "unexplored areas" in the mechanization of production processes. It is also experiencing a shortage of machinery and equipment. The Plenum of the Central Committee pointed out two fundamental factors: first, the improvement in the quality of the tractors, combines, and other machines and equipment; the guaranteeing of the complete delivery of all the necessary technology to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes; and, secondly, the fundamental improvement of the use of material-technical means; the considerable improvement of the engineer-technical service in rural areas.

Carrying out these instructions, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree "Measures for the Further Development of the Comprehensive Mechanization of Agricultural Production and the Equipping of Agriculture With Highly Productive Technology" (1978) and "Measures for Increasing the Production in 1978-1985 of Highly Productive Technology for Fodder Production and Fodder Manufacture, the Complete Mechanization of Work on Animal-Husbandry Farms and in Poultry Production" (1978), in which it was planned in 1981-1985 to deliver to rural areas 1,870,000 tractors, 1,450,000 trucks, 600,000 grain-harvesting combines, and a large amount of other technology. The deliveries of machinery and equipment for animal husbandry and fodder production, as compared with the Tenth Five-Year Plan, will be increased by a factor of almost 1.5 and will constitute more than 14 billion rubles.

In the process of intensification of agricultural production, great importance is attached to the further development of chemicalization. Shipments of mineral fertilizers to agriculture in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan will be increased to 135-140 million tons. Special attention is being devoted to increasing the effectiveness of the use of mineral fertilizers, the fundamental improvement of the system of the agrochemical servicing of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which it has been deemed desirable to concentrate in the agricultural agencies. New major steps will have to be taken in the development of the reclamation of agricultural land, the improvement of their economic assimilation, and in improving the effectiveness of the use of irrigated and drained land.

The conversion of agricultural production onto an industrial basis requires the complete development of the industrial complex of industry, which provides agriculture with machinery, fertilizers, and other production means. For these purposes it is planned to provide for the remodeling of a number of existing plants, and the construction of new ones, in agricultural machine-building, and in the chemical, processing, and other branches of the agro-industrial complex. The development of the production base of agricultural machine-building alone, and machine-building for animal husbandry and fodder production in the new five-year plan, has an allocation of more than 7.2 billion rubles.

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The July 1978 Plenum of the Central Committee completely substantiated the importance of increasing agricultural production as the chief condition for its further development. It was pointed out that major capital investments in agriculture and other branches of the agro-industrial complex must be used productively and effectively. As was noted at the Plenum of the Central Committee by L. I. Brezhnev, the yield in agriculture is still insufficient, and all our personnel must be profoundly aware of this. At the present time it is required of all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises that they use their funds in such a way as to obtain the greatest output of production for each hectare of land, and to achieve a rapid and high yield for each ruble expended. It is important in all links, from bottom to top, to extend the movement for economy and thrift, for the reduction of production costs. In the fight to increase the effectiveness of production, it is necessary to take into consideration all the factors in the increase of the labor productivity of agriculture, to reveal more completely and to multiply the natural resources of the land, and to place them at the service of man.

In the system of measures that are aimed at increasing the effectiveness of agriculture, a factor of exceptional importance is the course taken by the party with regard to the specialization and concentration of production and the development of interfarm cooperation. The CPSU views this process as a new, major social phenomenon in the modern countryside. The paths of resolving the tasks that have arisen in this area have been defined in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration," which was adopted soon after the 25th CPSU Congress and which became a policy statement for the actions of the party, Soviet, and agricultural agencies, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

There has been a broader and broader extension of the process of specialization and cooperation in agricultural production and interfarm cooperation. The specialized enterprises and associations that have been created confirm the high effectiveness of their production activity. There are already more than 8,600 interfarm and agro-industrial enterprises and associations that produce a large quantity of various kinds of output. Valuable experience in the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation has been accumulated in a number of oblasts and krais in RSFSR, the Ukraine, Moldavia, and other union republics throughout the country.

The July Plenum of the Central Committee developed farther the questions of specialization on the basis of interfarm cooperation and pointed out individual shortcomings that had occurred during the carrying out of that work. First of all, the Plenum materials provided a thorough understanding of the concept of specialization and concentration of agricultural production under conditions of interfarm cooperation. "The party's course aimed at the specialization and concentration of agricultural production," L. I. Brezhnev said, "does not indicate, by any means, a lessening of the attention

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devoted to various branches on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, or especially the termination of those branches. That would cause damage to the national economy." The interfarm cooperation and intensification of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production constitute a single process that represents the most effective path for increasing the production of agricultural output. However, when carrying out specialization on the basis of interfarm cooperation, in individual rayons throughout the country, there was a reduction in the number of head of livestock and even the elimination of entire animal farms on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The Plenum deemed such an approach to specialization to be incorrect and inconsistent with the interests of society. At the same time the Plenum pointed out that interfarm cooperation is a large and complicated process that requires careful attention and concrete guidance. The most important thing when carrying out this work is the achievement of a high production benefit.

One of the important problems that received the further development in the materials of the Plenum of the Central Committee is the improvement of the economic relations in agriculture, and also among the branches of the agro-industrial complex.

Much has been done in the development and reinforcement of the economic relations after the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. This has created more favorable conditions for the increase of agricultural production and the increase in the material self-interestedness of the rural workers in the work that they perform. During the years that have elapsed, the productive forces in the countryside have risen to a new level, there has been an increase in the scope of production on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the socialization and division of labor have received further development. In agriculture, new problems and tasks have been arising, the economic ties and relations have been broadening and becoming more complicated, and definite shortcomings have been manifesting themselves. This requires the improvement of all aspects of the economic mechanism -- planning, the providing of incentives, cost-accounting relations, and the interrelationships among the branches that make up the agro-industrial complex.

The July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted a large amount of attention to the consideration of these questions. And it made a fundamental conclusion to the effect that the improvement of the economic relations must contribute to the intensification of the commonality of the interests of the state, the kolkhozes, and the immediate producers, and must serve as an active factor in the increase in labor productivity.

Steps were developed which were aimed at reinforcing the economy on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They include the increase in purchase prices (without changing the retail prices) of milk, wool, caracul, lamb, potatoes, and individual types of vegetables; the improvement of the system of insuring sovkhoz property; a new procedure for applying the income tax to kolkhozes, in conformity with which the tax will be levied on the net income with a profitability of 25 percent or more. The

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indebtedness on Gosbank loans in the amount of 7.3 billion rubles is being written off for kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are operating at a loss or with a low rate of profitability, and an extension is being granted for paying off credit in the amount of 4 billion rubles, with a period of up to 12 years. Effective 1 January 1980, there will be a 40 percent increase in the minimum amount of pensions paid to kolkhoz members. All these steps are opening up new opportunities for the further upsurge of agriculture and the increase in the income rate of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

A very important link in the modern agrarian policy of the CPSU is the social development of the rural areas. "Under present-day conditions," L. I. Brezhnev said at the July Plenum of the Central Committee, "the development of the productive forces of agriculture is linked especially closely with the resolution of the social questions of rural life." Problems of rural construction, which plays an important role in the social development of the rural areas, received broad reflection in the materials and documents of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

During recent years, rural construction formed as an important branch of the national economy, in the development of the production base of which almost 16 billion rubles have been invested. At the present time, approximately 3 million construction workers are employed in that branch. Their efforts go into the fulfillment of a volume of construction-and-installation operations with a total value of more than 10 billion rubles a year. As a result, in the rural areas a greater and greater number of new production, housing, and cultural-everyday projects are activated with every passing year.

A lot has been done. Nevertheless, as was noted at the July Plenum of the Central Committee, rural construction continues to be a bottleneck. Despite the steps that have been taken, the production base of construction in rural localities is still weak. Large shortcomings also exist in the planning of rural structures, and in providing them with equipment and materials.

The party has pointed out the necessity of carrying out a sharper changeover to construction in rural areas and the improvement of the cultural and everyday conditions of the rural workers. The subject of discussion here is assuring that the questions of the social and cultural development of the rural areas are raised to a new and well-principled height.

For these purposes it is planned to create large-scale rural construction combines, to expand road construction, to improve the training of construction workers for rural areas, and to take all steps to develop sponsorship assistance to kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the part of cities and industrial centers. The July Plenum of the Central Committee devoted a large amount of attention to the education of personnel for rural areas, the training and permanent assignment of mechanizers in kolkhoz and sovkhoz

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production, to improving the composition of the administrative workers at the middle-level production subdivisions, and to the creation of an atmosphere of creative businesslike methods and active participation on the part of all rural workers. A very important task today, it was noted at the July Plenum of the Central Committee, is the combination of agricultural production with culture, which is understood in the broadest sense of the word as the culture of labor, everyday living conditions, and human relations.

In the successful resolution of the tasks that have been posed by the party, tremendous importance is attached to the improvement of the organizer and mass-political work performed by all the party organizations. In the decree of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with L. I. Brezhnev's report, it is pointed out that a higher level of party leadership, more improved methods of organizer and political work among the masses, must correspond to the new stage in the fight for the further upsurge of agriculture. Communists have been called upon to be in the vanguard of the nationwide struggle for the new upsurge in agriculture, to lead the movement of the masses of millions of workers, to extend on a broader and broader scale the socialist competition on the fields and in the animal farms, and to strive for the highest labor productivity and the increase in the effectiveness of production and the quality of the work.

Having called, at the July Plenum of the Central Committee, for a broad program in the further development of agriculture, the party extended on a broad scale the active work of implementing it. Soon after the Plenum, important decrees by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers were published. Those decrees, which had been developed in the course of the preparation of the Plenum of the Central Committee and which had been approved by it, dealt with major problems in the development of agricultural production. The decrees include the following: "Measures for the Further Development of the Comprehensive Mechanization of Agricultural Production and the Equipping of Agriculture With Highly Productive Technology," "Measures for Increasing the Production and Improving the Quality of Fodders," "Measures for the Further Improvement of Pedigree Work in Animal Husbandry," "Measures for Improving the Economic and Financial Condition of the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes," "The Further Development of the Construction of Individual Homes and the Permanent Assignment of Personnel in Rural Areas," etc.

Patriotic undertakings by rural workers which have become very widespread throughout the country are those of the rural workers of the Kuban', who took increased pledges for the sale of grain to the state; the collective at the Gigant Grain Sovkhoz, Rostovskaya Oblast, who came forth as the initiator of the movement for the preterm fulfillment of the assignments of the year and the five-year plan as a whole; the beet growers and workers at the sugar refinery in Yampol'skiy Rayon, Vinnitskaya Oblast, who pledged to obtain 50 quintals of sugar from every hectare and to give the country additional output. The initiators of the glorious

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undertakings successfully coped with their increased pledges. Following their example, many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblasts, krays, and republics achieved high indicators and gratified their Motherland with their great achievements.

In 1978 agriculture took a new step forward. The gross harvest of grain exceeded 237 million tons. That is the largest harvest in the entire history of our country's agriculture. Major successes were achieved by the cotton growers of our country, who sold the state more than 8 million tons of cotton. Positive changes are occurring in animal husbandry: there has been an increase in the number of head of livestock and poultry, and there has been an increase in the production and purchase of the basic products of animal husbandry.

The year 1979 was the first year of the practical implementation of the decisions of the July 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Concrete goals in the development of vegetable and animal husbandry during that year were defined in the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, which was adopted by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in December 1978. The volume of gross output was established at the level of the assignments in the five-year plan and increases by 5.8 percent. It will be necessary to carry out major steps to increase the harvest yield and the gross harvest of grain, cotton, sugar beets, and other products of vegetable husbandry. The task has been posed to achieve a tangible increase in the production of meat, milk, and other output of animal husbandry. For the majority of products, the established assignments exceed the maximum level that was achieved during the most favorable years.

The present-day agrarian policy of the CPSU embodies the party line aimed at the complete reinforcement of the economy, and the successful resolution of the tasks of communist construction. Its implementation is everyone's concern. The further upsurge of agriculture is a very important condition for the complete economic progress of the entire country.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Soviet citizens are carrying out great tasks in the fourth year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The results of the first three years of the five-year plan and the plans for the fourth year, and the further prospects and paths for the resolution of the tasks confronting the party and the nation, were discussed at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which was held in November 1978 and at the Tenth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ninth Convocation. The resolutions of the Plenum and the session have demonstrated the scientific nature, the profound and complete substantiation of the party's policy. They showed once again that the party does not have any other concerns, any other goals, than the increase in the economic and spiritual wealth of the Motherland, its defense capability, the raising of the workers' standard of living, the reinforcement of the peace and the friendship and cooperation among the nations on the earth.

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The Plenum of the Central Committee and the supreme agency of power discussed the draft versions of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the 1979 USSR State Budget. The appropriate decrees and laws were adopted.

Much has been done during the three years that have elapsed. Soviet citizens, under the leadership of the party of Communists, have been working persistently to fulfill the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and have been living an intense, crowded life. They are confident about their own abilities, and are profoundly convinced of the correctness of our party's domestic and foreign-policy course. Everything that has been done during the past three years alone, L. I. Brezhnev said at the Plenum, cannot fail to inspire confidence that the path along which we are traveling is the correct Leninist path.

Since the beginning of the five-year period there has been a considerable increase and renewing of the fixed production assets in the national economy. They increased by 195 billion rubles and at the end of 1978 they constituted one trillion [*trillion*]. That is a very large increase. It is almost equal to all the fixed production assets by the beginning of the 1960's. More than 700 large-scale industrial enterprises have been built. They include the Lisichansk Petroleum Refinery; the oxygen-convertor complex at Azovstal'; and the blast furnace at the Novolipetsk Plant. Standing in the same rank are such industrial giants as the first phase of KamAZ, the Neftekamsk Dump-Truck Plant, and the wool-spinning factory in Krivoy Rog. The Zaporozh'ye and Uglegorsk thermal electric-power plants have begun operating at full capacity.

The rapid growth of economic potential is the result of the dynamic development of our industry. During the first three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the total amount of output produced was valued at 450 billion rubles more than during the first three years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

A fundamentally new factor in our economy has been the creation and development of the territorial-production complexes, primarily in the eastern part of the country. They are the West-Siberian, Bratsk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Orenburg, Nizhnekamsk, and other territorial-production complexes. During the three years that have elapsed, these complexes provided for the entire increase in the production of crude oil, almost the entire increase in gas production, a considerable part of the increase in the production of electrical energy, the production of iron ore and coal, and the production of trucks and tractors.

The material-technical base of agriculture is becoming stronger. During these three years there has been an increase of more than 25 percent in the extent to which the agricultural labor has been provided with power. Agriculture received more than 230 million tons of mineral fertilizers, 4.5 million hectares of new land which is drained or irrigated. All this, in combination with the truly heroic labor performed by the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, provided our Motherland in 1978 with an unprecedentedly



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large amount of grain -- more than 237 million tons! The potato growers and cotton growers worked well, and the situation also improved in animal husbandry.

On the basis of the successes in economic construction, there was a rise in the material and cultural standard of living for the nation. The assignments for increasing the public's monetary income were completely fulfilled. There was an increase of more than 30 billion rubles in retail commodity turnover; and an increase of almost one-fourth in the volume of utilization of everyday services. Approximately 6.5 million apartments with full amenities were built, as well as many schools, kindergartens and day-care centers, cultural institutions, and hospitals.

During the first three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan the country moved substantially ahead in all directions of its economic and social development. Forming the basis of our successes has been the selfless labor performed by the workers, kolkhoz members, and the intellectuals.

While giving its due to the success, the party has never closed its eyes to shortcomings, difficulties, or bottlenecks. The analysis of shortcomings always has served, and continues to serve, for the party as the point of departure for improving the work. And that is how the situation was at the November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, where L. I. Brezhnev dwelt on those sectors in our economy which require the special attention of the party, Soviet, and economic agencies.

There still continues to be a shortage of certain types of resources, primarily metal and fuel; the situation has been improving slowly in capital construction, where the volume of uncompleted projects has increased; there have been difficulties in transport, chiefly railroad transport; and there has been an incomplete satisfying of the demand for certain foodstuffs, especially meat. The party decisions set down the basic paths for eliminating the shortcomings in these branches. They include the concentration of efforts in the resolution of the critical problems in the national economy, the further development of metallurgy, the fuel and chemical industry, power engineering, machine building, all types of transportation, and other branches. Decisive steps are being taken to improve capital construction, to assure the prompt activation and assimilation of the new production capacities, to intensify the fight against the instances of dispersal of the manpower and means in numerous construction sites, and against instances of increase in the volumes of incomplete construction and uninstalled equipment. In the area of agriculture it will be necessary to achieve an increase in the harvest yield and the productivity of livestock and poultry, an increase in the gross harvests of grain and other crops, the production of meat, milk, eggs, and wool, and the fulfillment of the plans for purchases of products of vegetable and animal husbandry.

One of the key problems in the national economy continues to be the increase in production, the expansion of the variety, and the improvement of the quality of consumer goods. All steps are being taken to accelerate the development of the branches that produce these commodities.

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The November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tenth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet not only summed up the results of the first three years of the five-year plan, but also defined the chief tasks for 1979 and the subsequent years. Their essence is the further intensification of the fight for the effectiveness and quality of work. Special attention must be directed at increasing the labor productivity, at introducing into production the achievements of science and advanced experience, new technology and technological methods, and the activation of the existing reserves and capabilities for increasing the production and raising the technical level of output with the minimum expenditures.

The November 1978 Plenum emphasized the ever-growing importance of the intensive factors in the development of the economy, and the necessity of concentrating our efforts in their more complete use. The intensification of economic development means orienting oneself on the final results of production, the search for the most effective and most economical ways of achieving it; the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the constant search for new scientific ideas and technical resolutions, the concentration of the scientists' efforts on the key areas in the development of the national economy; the raising of the level of education and the business proficiency of the workers; the further improvement of the methods of management and administration, the complete reinforcement of organizational spirit and the state of coordination in work, etc.

What results, then, will the economy of our country achieve in 1979? And what typifies these figures?

The national income is a very important indicator of our country's wealth.

In the fourth year of the five-year plan, national income will increase by 18 billion rubles.

This one increase alone will considerably exceed the national income of such industrially developed capitalist countries as Denmark or Switzerland, and more than doubles the national income of Norway.

The average annual rates of increase in the national income of the USSR will considerably exceed the achievements of the leading capitalist countries. For example, during the past five five-year plans in the USSR they constituted 8.1 percent, whereas in the United States it was only 3.3 percent, in Great Britain 2.5, in France 4.9, and in West Germany 5.5 percent. During the entire period of the Soviet authority, the national income in the USSR increased by a factor of 108. And that was despite the tremendous losses inflicted upon the country during the Great Patriotic War.

During the fourth year of the five-year plan, labor productivity in industry will increase by 4.7 percent. The great importance of this growth can be judged from the fact that simply a one-percent increase in productivity provides an increase in output of industrial products valued at more than 5 billion rubles.

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A very important condition for the increase in national income is the reduction of the materials-intensity of the output being produced. The importance that thriftiness has for the national economy is difficult to overestimate. On a countrywide scale, for example, every percentage of reduction in the material expenditures for the production of output is equivalent to an additional growth in the national income of almost 6 billion rubles.

Yet another important reserve for multiplying the national income is the increase in the effectiveness of the use of fixed production assets. Fixed assets -- the chief part of the country's national wealth -- by 1978 constituted approximately 1.5 trillion rubles, of which production assets constituted one trillion.

The increase in return on investments in industry by one kopeck per ruble of fixed production assets provides an additional output of production of 4 billion rubles. By using those billions one could manufacture, for example, a million Belarus' tractors or 500,000 mainline box cars, or build schools for 4 million students.

The volume of industrial output will increase by 33 billion rubles in 1979.

The entire USSR State Budget in 1940 was slightly more than half that figure.

History knows of no previous occurrences of such high rates of development of industrial production as we have had in our country. During the past 60 years it increased by a factor of 225. At the present time our country produces more industrial output than was produced in the entire world in 1950.

During the past ten years the volume of industrial output in the USSR doubled. At the same time, Great Britain needed 29 years to double its industrial production; West Germany, 17 years; and the United States and France, 16 years.

The following figures also indicate the giant steps that were taken by our industry. In 1913 Russia produced the following, in percentages of the production level in the United States: crude oil, 27; steel, 15; mineral fertilizers, 3; and cement, 13 percent. At the present time the picture is completely different. In 1977 the USSR produced 138 million tons more of crude oil and gas condensate than in the United States; 31 million tons more steel; 6.4 million tons more of mineral fertilizers; 56 million tons more of cement, and 319,000 more tractors.

L. I. Brezhnev commented in his speech at the November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that a fundamentally new factor in the development of our economy at the present-day stage is the creation and development of a number of territorial-production complexes. It is those complexes which have provided our country with the basic increase in the production of a number of extractive branches of the economy, the production of

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motor vehicles, tractors, etc. For purposes of comparison we might cite the following information: during the last three years the increase in the production of gas in the territorial-production complexes has exceeded its total production in 1977 in such countries as Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Japan.

A factor of primary importance for increasing the effectiveness of industrial production is the steady increase in labor productivity. By means of this increase alone during the two-year period of 1976-1977 our country achieved a 74-percent increase in industrial output. The increase in labor productivity during that period provided for the economizing of the labor performed by more than 2 million persons; the materials-intensity of production was reduced, as a result of the country obtained a considerable saving of raw and other materials, fuel, and other resources.

During the fourth year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, 1265 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy will be produced.

In 1979 the national economy will receive much more electrical energy than was produced last year by all nine countries in the European Economic Community.

We shall produce 593 million tons of crude oil (including gas condensate) in 1979. Not a single country produces as much liquid fuel.

We shall produce 404 billion cubic meters of gas in 1979.

It is noteworthy that, whereas the United States during the past 20 years approximately doubled the production of gas, in the USSR the increase was by a factor of 11!

During the fourth year of the five-year plan our country's miners will produce 752 million tons of coal.

The European Coal and Steel Association, which includes the Nine Countries, produced slightly more than half as much coal in 1977.

In 1979 our country will produce 108.7 million tons of finished rolled ferrous metals. The level of production of these products characterizes the development of metallurgy.

During the past five years the total increase in the production of pig iron alone in our country exceeds the annual production of pig iron in such countries as Great Britain and Italy.

Almost 800 new types of machine-building output will be assimilated in 1979.

The USSR occupies first place in the world with regard to the production of diesel locomotives, electric locomotives, metal-cutting machine tools, and tractors.

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The increase in the production of tractors, for example, during the five-year period in our country is equal to the annual volume of production of those machines in France.

If one compares the growth rates of output of machine-building in our country and in certain capitalist countries, it turns out that the USSR in recent years has produced twice as many diesel locomotives and electric locomotives as in the United States, 7 times more than in Great Britain, and 13 times more than in France.

In 1979 it is planned to achieve a further improvement in the qualitative composition of machinery and equipment. The plan provides for the preferential increase in the production of machinery and technological equipment which assure an increase in labor productivity and a reduction in the material and power expenditures. At the same time, a large quantity of obsolete types of machinery and equipment will be removed from production.

In conformity with the decisions of the July 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the plan provides for measures to assure the further increase in production and the raising of the technical level of agricultural technology.

The increase in the gross output of agriculture that is planned for 1979 is 5.8 percent. Each percentage of increase will be equal approximately to 1.29 billion rubles.

Under the exceptionally complicated weather conditions, as of the beginning of December 8,300,000 tons of cotton was grown and harvested. That is much more than was harvested in 1975 in all the capitalist and developing countries.

The 1917 plan includes high growth indices for agricultural production. For most products, L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, they exceed the maximum level achieved in the most favorable years.

The plan for the production of agricultural output has been balanced and supported by the material-technical resources. State capital investments in agriculture alone will be 23.5 billion rubles. For purposes of comparison: on the average for each year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan they constituted 16.6 billion rubles. That is an increase of almost 1.5 times.

There has been a noticeable reinforcement of the technical base in rural areas. There has been an increase in the production of agricultural machinery. With regard to the total pool of such machinery, our country currently occupies a leading place in the world.

There has been a considerable increase in the deliveries of mineral fertilizers to agriculture. In 1979 agriculture will receive 85.6 million tons

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of fertilizers, or 5.4 million tons more than in 1978. The annual increase alone in the deliveries of fertilizers will exceed by 1.7 times the total quantity received by rural areas in 1940. Agriculture will receive mineral fertilizers in a quantity that is more than 3 times the quantity in 1965.

A large volume of reclamation work will be carried out. The capital investments in the agriculture of the Nonchernozem Zone are increasing by 15 percent, as compared with the 1978 level.

The USSR is rightfully called the country of new construction projects. The volume of state capital investments that has been planned for the fourth year of the five-year plan is 116.5 billion rubles.

That figure exceeds by more than 13 times the capital investments for the entire First Five-Year Plan (in comparable prices).

With regard to growth rates of capital investments, our country all the highly developed capitalist states.

Remarkable success has been achieved in the eastern part of the country by the builders of BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline], who laid more than 1500 kilometers of track under the severe conditions of the perpetual taiga. In the western part of the country, on the basis of cooperation and socialist integration, one of the world's largest ferry crossings was built and has begun operating -- the Il'ichevsk-Varna ferry crossing. It is planned to complete the construction of the first phase of the Atommash Plant in Volgograd. At the Leningrad Nuclear Power Station, turbines with a total capacity of one million kilowatts will be activated. Capacities for the production of 2 million tons of steel will be activated at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant, and capacities for the production of one million tons of cold-rolled plate at the Novolipetsk Combine.

More than 91 billion rubles have been appropriated in 1979 for social and cultural measures.

Housing with a total area of 112.3 million cubic meters will be built by drawing upon all sources of financing. This will make it possible to improve the living conditions for 11 million persons. In our country in less than one month we shall activate an amount of housing that would be sufficient for a city with a population of half a million.

Every day in the Soviet Union approximately 30,000 persons improve their housing conditions. With regard to the volumes and rates of housing construction, our country occupies a leading place in the world.

In the USSR apartment rent has remained unchanged since 1928. Every year the state allocates more than 5 billion rubles to the maintenance of the housing and communal management.

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In 1979 the expenses from the State Budget for national education will constitute 37.9 billion rubles.

In our country the transition to universal secondary education has been completed. In the 1979 budget, provision has been made for the allocation of more than 10 billion rubles for the financing of schools and the construction of new school buildings.

Approximately 10 million persons will study in institutions of higher learning and technicums, and occupational-trade schools will train approximately 2.3 million persons for the national economy.

The expenses for public health and physical culture will be considerably increased in 1979 as compared with 1978 and will come to 13.6 billion rubles.

In 1979 the average monthly wages paid to workers and employees will be 163 rubles; and the average monthly payment for the labor performed by kolkhoz members, 116 rubles.

Those figures brilliantly attest to our success in raising the level of the standard of living for the Soviet citizen. In 1966 the average monthly wages paid to workers and employees constituted only 100 rubles.

In 1979 our country will see the end of the process of carrying out one of the major measures in the social program of the five-year plan -- the increasing of the wages paid to workers in education, public health, culture, and other nonproduction branches. As a result, the wages in 1979 will be increased for 18 million persons, and in the Tenth Five-Year Plan, for 31 million.

In addition to the rise in wages, in raising the level of the national standard of living an important role is played by the public consumption funds. In 1979 the payments and benefits paid out of these funds will come to 110 billion rubles and will increase by a factor of more than 2.6 as compared with 1965.

In 1979 terms, the total expenses for measures to raise the national standard of living which have been carried out since the beginning of the five-year plan will be approximately 11 billion rubles.

In 1979 the country allocated 24.9 billion rubles for the development of all types of transportation and communication.

The annual freight turnover of transportation is close to 6 trillion ton-kilometers, and the freight turnover of rail transportation exceeds the level of the United States by more than 2.5 times.

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In the fourth year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, it is planned to increase the total freight turnover by 4.9 percent. Our country will activate 770 kilometers of new railroad lines, of which 220 kilometers will be the Tynda-Berkakit line on the BAM, along which the shipment of coal from Southern Yakutia will begin. Special attention is being devoted to the development of railroads in the eastern parts of the country for the purpose of accommodating the growing volumes of shipments of Kansk-Achinsk, Ekibastuz, and Kuznetsk coal.

All means of communication, radio broadcasting, and television will receive further development. In the fourth year of the five-year plan the capacity of the telephone stations will increase by almost 1.3 million numbers. With the aim of accelerating the delivery of central newspapers to the public, it is planned during the Tenth Five-Year Plan to double the number of points for the receipt of newspaper mats which are transmitted by phototelegraph.

Almost 20 billion rubles will be expended during the fourth year of the five-year plan to cover the expenditures for scientific research and the material support of science.

That is more than our country's entire budget in prewar 1940.

An additional important step will be taken in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The ministries and departments will assimilate into production more than 4000 new types of machinery, equipment, instruments, and materials. On the basis of the state plan alone, it is planned to carry out 300 assignments involving the introduction of new technological processes, and means of mechanizing and automating production. These and many other projects will assure a saving of labor which is equivalent to freeing approximately one million persons. This is equivalent to the number of all the workers in such a country as Ireland. Approximately 400,000 persons will be changed over from manual labor to mechanized.

Projects will be completed in a number of comprehensive scientific-technical programs which were developed for the first time in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. For example, at the Beloyarsk Nuclear Power Station it is planned to activate a power unit with a capacity of 600 megawatts with a fast breeder reactor. Reactors such as this make it possible to use the nuclear fuel with the maximum effectiveness. It is planned to assimilate and introduce electrical-vibration equipment for the drilling of wells. Its use will make it possible to increase the productivity of drilling operations by a factor of 2-3, and to almost halve their costs. The more precise operation of enterprises and associations will be aided by more than 330 automated control systems, the activation of which is also planned for 1979.

Fundamental scientific research in the field of the social, natural, and technical sciences will receive further development.



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It is not without interest to cite the figures showing what our country produces in one day of the fourth year of the five-year plan, as compared to the developed capitalist countries.

In one day in 1979 the USSR produces 3.5 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy. The electric power stations of Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg produce this amount of electrical energy in two weeks.

In the fourth year of the five-year plan our country produces 1.6 million tons of crude oil and gas condensate every day.

Every day in 1979 our country produces 360 million tons of cement. This is more than is produced by the United States, Great Britain, and Italy, taken together.

In one day of the fourth year of the five-year plan, Soviet citizens will receive 6033 apartments. That is more than the number of apartments that are activated in one day in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia, taken together.

For the gigantic projects in our country's economy, a factor of great importance is the price of one minute of the worker's time.

In one minute of the worker's time, our country produces the following:

- electrical energy, more than 2 million kilowatt-hours;
- steel, 300 tons;
- crude oil,, more than 1000 tons;
- gas, 650,000 cubic meters.

The average length of the work week for all workers and employees in the national economy (taking into consideration the reduced work day for teachers and for medical and other workers) currently is 39.4 hours. Prior to the revolution, in major industry, it exceeded 58 hours. The value of a unit of work time during the past few years alone has more than tripled on kolkhozes, and has more than doubled on sovkhozes.

The Soviet nation has perceived the planned assignments of the fourth year of the five-year plan and their socialist pledges as the combat mission of the day. Everything that the party has planned and the nation has approved will be fulfilled.

In order to implement successfully the assignments of the 24th CPSU Congress, the November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, it is necessary to raise the practical activities in all links -- from the planning agencies, ministries, and departments to the individual work sites -- to the height of the party's requirements. We have in mind first of all the intensification of the responsibility borne by every one for the job assigned to him, the reinforcement of discipline and organizational spirit, and the improvement of economic guidance. The

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successful resolution of these tasks depends greatly upon the further increase in the combat readiness of the party organization. The greater and greater mobilization of the nation's creative forces, the search for and activation of new reserves for economic growth, and the improvement of the guidance of competition -- those are the arena in which Communists should act. Those are the goals to which the organizer and mass-political work should be subordinated.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST IS A JOB FOR MILLIONS

In the carrying out of the program of socioeconomic development in our country, which was developed by the party, Siberia and the Far East have been called upon to play a major role.

The share of the eastern parts of our country in nationwide industrial production is constantly growing. The discovery here, during the years of the Soviet authority, of deposits of minerals, and the existence of very rich hydroelectrical, raw-material, timber, and other resources represent assets that are being used more and more completely in the interests of the nation. At such time the party consistently carries out a course specifically aimed at the complete assimilation and development of the very rich areas, and the creation of territorial-production complexes. In those complexes, as a rule, one achieves the completion of the production process, the extraction of the raw materials is combined with its processing, and all types of resources are drawn into economic circulation, as a result of which the natural resources and the production capacities are used more effectively.

The Basic Trends in the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980, which were approved by the 25th CPSU Congress, stipulate "the further increase in the economic potential of the eastern areas and the increase in their role in nationwide production of industrial output. There should be an accelerated development of the branches that have the most favorable natural prerequisites for this, especially the fuel industry and power-intensive production entities. It is planned to achieve in these areas the entire increase in the production of crude oil and gas that has been planned for the five-year period, as well as the entire increase in the production of aluminum, more than 90 percent of the increase in coal production, approximately 80 percent of the increase in production copper, 45 percent of the increase in the production of woodpulp, and approximately 60 percent of the increase in the production of cardboard."

The scope of the implementation of this program is truly tremendous. For example, in Siberia, where it is planned to increase industrial production by almost 1.5 times, provision is made for the accelerated development of the fuel industry, power-intensive production entities in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and the chemical, petrochemical, and woodpulp-and-paper industry. The timber and wood-processing industry will receive further development.

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In West Siberia we shall see the continuation of the formation of the very large-scale territorial-production complex -- the chief base in the country for the production of crude oil and gas. The oil fields in Tyumen' currently are providing almost half the total production of crude oil and a large share of the gas. It is planned to increase the production of crude oil here in 1980 to 300-310 million tons, and gas, to 124-155 billion cubic meters. The construction of the Tobol'sk Petrochemical Complex and the Tomsk Petrochemical Combine will change West Siberia into an important center for the production of the products of petrochemical processing which the country needs. Plants for the processing of petroleum gas will be constructed, as will a system of pipelines for the transporting of crude oil and gas, and the Surgut-Mizhnevartovsk Railroad, and the construction of the Surgut-Urengoy Railroad will be begun. The traditional branches of industry -- timber and fish -- are also being developed here. Road, housing, and cultural-everyday construction is being carried out at rapid rates.

In East Siberia, the Sayansk Territorial-Production Complex will continue to develop. The nucleus of that complex will be one of the world's largest hydroelectric power stations -- the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, with a planned capacity of 6,400,000 kilowatts. The cheap energy will serve as the basis for the development of aluminum production. Several electrical-engineering plants are being built in Minusinsk, and it is planned to activate the first electrolysis buildings at the Sayansk Aluminum Plant. The first phase of the Sayanmramor Stone-Processing Combine, which is based on a one-of-a-kind deposit of marble, has begun to produce output. The Sayansk Complex also includes the Chernogorsk Worsted Combine and the Abakan Knitwear Factor, and the Chernogorsk factory for the primary processing of wool.

In the East Siberian Economic Region, the formation of the Bratsk--Ust'-Il'msk Territorial-Production Complex is coming to an end. Included in that complex are the Ust'-Il'mskaya GES, an aluminum plant, and a timber-industry complex, as well as the Korshunov Mining and Concentration Combine and other enterprises. In 1981 it is planned to complete the construction of the very large-scale Ust'-Il'msk Woodpulp Plant. Work involved in the accelerated creation of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex will be broadly extended. Higher rates are planned in Siberia for the development of agriculture and for branches of the industry that processes agricultural raw materials.

In the Far East there will be comprehensive development of the economy, an increase in the production of nonferrous, rare, and noble metals and diamonds, and the production of output in the timber, woodpulp-and-paper, and furniture industries. The Zeyskaya GES will be created here, the construction of the Bureyskaya GES will be extended, and the first units will be activated at the Kolymskaya ges. The existing ports are being developed and remodeled, and there is extensive construction of the Vostochnyy deep-water port. It is planned to increase the catch of fish, the production of products from the sea, and the production of

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high-quality output in the food and fish industry. Work is continuing to drain and irrigate the land, and to create specialized sovkhozes and animal-husbandry complexes.

Tremendous projects are under way in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline. Its construction will provide a mighty impetus for the creation in adjacent regions of a system of territorial complexes on the basis of deposits of stone coal and iron ores in Southern Yakutia and the Udokan-skoye Copper Deposit. The BAM will help to make more complete use of the very rich storehouse of mineral resources in this area, and to resolve in a new way the question of the development of productive forces.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state devote constant attention to the accelerated development of the eastern parts of our country. Brilliant evidence of this was the trip taken by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev to the areas of Siberia and the Far East in 1978. As was noted in the document of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, that trip is of great importance for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress with regard to the comprehensive assimilation of the natural resources and the development of the productive forces of Siberia and the Far East. "The task consists," that document states, "in continuing to build up, in the eastern part of the country, the production of coal, crude oil, and gas, primarily from Tyumen', and to make more complete use of the vast hydroelectrical resources of these areas for the development of the aluminum, woodpulp, petrochemical, and other branches of industry."

Guided by Lenin's behests, the party and its Central Committee, when resolving the large and complicated problems of communist construction, invariably appeal to the workers, relying upon their intelligence, knowledge, experience, and high civil awareness. The reason for our victorious, V. I. Lenin, is the direct appeal made by the party and the Soviet authority to the workers, "the ability to explain to the masses why it is necessary to direct all one's efforts first to this aspect, and then to that aspect, of Soviet work at a particular moment; the ability to raise up the energy, heroism, and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating the revolutionary strained efforts on the most important task at the moment."

Asking the advice of the people with regard to the most important questions of public life has become a remarkable tradition in the party. Any of the party's decisions, every step taken in policy, in organizer and ideological-educational work, evolves from the interests of the workers and are aimed at ensuring that there will be an even greater reinforcement of the unity between the party and the people, at ensuring that the people's confidence in the party will continue to be unshakable.

It is precisely that purposefulness that permeates the statements made by L. I. Brezhnev to the workers and the party and economic activists in Siberia

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and the Far East. His meetings and discussions with the builders of the BAM, the workers at enterprises in Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, Krasnoyarsk, and Irkutsk, the party and economic activists in a number of krais and oblasts, the fighting men of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the advice and comments that were expressed are of great fundamental importance for improving both the economic and organizer work and the educational, ideological-political work among the masses.

The CPSU Central Committee advances as the primary task the guaranteeing of the successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the unconditional fulfillment of the planned assignments and the socialist pledges for the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The plan is the chief instrument for the implementation of the party's economic policy. In the fight for the fulfillment of the planned assignments, a factor of great importance will be the concentration of efforts and means on the projects which will be activated in the next report period, the raising of the level of mechanization and automation of operations, and the improvement of the shipments of raw and other materials. There are considerable internal reserves in every branch, at every enterprise. The crux of the matter is the more intensive assimilation of the planned capacities at the existing and newly activated enterprises, the careful, thrifty use of raw and other materials and of energy. The task has been posed to introduce order into the operation of transportation, to improve the planning of shipments and the use of rolling stock. Factors which are of great importance are the dissemination of advanced experience, the reinforcement of the contacts between science and production, and the improvement of the organization of labor and administration.

A major reserve is the further extension of socialist competition. It must contribute to the development of the active labor participation of the masses, to the unconditional fulfillment of the planned assignments and pledges, and to the operation of every collective without any laggards.

"... A source for the acceleration of the development of the economy," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech in Omsk, "is the guaranteeing of a high organizational spirit, of order and discipline in every sector of economic work, because the national economy is a single organism. Therefore it is very important to assure the complete fulfillment of the planned assignments, the strictest observance of planning discipline, and the organization of control..."

Life itself requires the party, Soviet, and economic agencies to carry out a constant active, creative search, to display high initiative, and a socialist spirit of enterprise and responsiveness in all spheres of activity.

Many of the eastern rayons have at their disposal opportunities for the development of their own agricultural base, for increasing the production of vegetables and products of animal husbandry. The party's Central Committee orients the local party, Soviet, and economic agencies and the administrators of enterprises toward demonstrating a painstaking attitude toward the

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providing of the population with meat, milk, and vegetables, and borrowing the experience of the best sovkhozes in the Moscow area in the development of hothouse management. The industrial rayons must have their own agricultural base and must provide themselves with the basic products of animal husbandry and vegetables, with their own production providing for fresh vegetables year-round. It is also necessary to assure the industrial processing of vegetables and fruits and to introduce order into the storage of agricultural products. Thus, these regions will carry out the policy that has been developed by the party, which is aimed at converting agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy.

The tasks posed by the 25th CPSU Congress for agriculture in the Tenth Five-Year Plan and the long-term future can be resolved successfully if there is a further buildup of the potential of the fundamental and applied scientific research, and a concentration of attention on the most important problems of scientific-technical progress. The high rates of development of the productive forces, and the new complicated task in the area of the assimilation of the rayons of Siberia and the Far East persistently require the thorough scientific and planning analysis and implementation of the economic decisions to be made. It will be necessary to assure a substantial intensification of the scientific-technical potential in the eastern part of the country and the acceleration of the rates of its development.

Practically all the basic trends in the natural and social sciences are represented at the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. At the present time that branch consists of 50 scientific-research and experimental-design institutions, which are situated in Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Tomsk, Ulan-Ude, and Yakutsk. Certain institutes have sections and laboratories in other Siberian cities. Currently operating on Siberian territory are approximately 75 magnetic-ionospheric, seismic, permafrost, biological, and comprehensive scientific stations.

The Siberian Branch employs 35,000 persons, including 23,000 at the Novosibirsk Scientific Center. There are approximately 16,000 scientific and scientific-technical workers there, including more than 70 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, approximately 400 doctors of science, and more than 3000 candidates of science.

The creation of the Siberian Branch has been one of the factors in the formation of the Far Eastern and Urals Scientific Centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Siberian branches of VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin] and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, as well as the expansion of the network of higher educational institutions.

The CPSU Central Committee, in the decree entitled "The Activity of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Developing Fundamental and Applied Scientific Research, in Increasing Its Effectiveness, in Introducing Scientific Achievements into the National Economy, and in Personnel Training" (1977), put a positive evaluation upon the work performed by the branch and gave the scientists important tasks for the long-

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term period. The most important of those tasks are the expansion of research on the comprehensive use of the natural resources of the eastern parts of the country; the concentration of scientific forces and material-technical resources in the most important trends in science which are linked with the acceleration of scientific-technical progress; the coordination of research carried out by the scientific institutions and higher educational institutions in Siberia. The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the constant buildup of Siberia's scientific-technical potential, and that of the Far East, should be aimed at the complete acceleration of the development of the productive forces in the eastern parts of the country.

In his speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress, L. I. Brezhnev appealed to the Komsomol and to youth as a whole in taking even more active part in the assimilation of the eastern wealth of our country. "The Komsomol," he said, "has always been a reliable sponsor of great Soviet construction projects. That excellent tradition continues to this day. . . During my trip to the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East, I was able, with a great sense of satisfaction, to see once again the remarkable kind of people who are working in these very rich but, to a large extent, still harsh lands, and to see how splendid the young people are here. One could say that the young people moderate the climate in these parts of the country by the heat of their devoted hearts.

"I particularly remember the meetings with a group of young construction workers on the Baykal-Amur Mainline at one of the stations, and with young people in the city of Komsomol'sk-na-Amure. They were wonderful young men and women. When they talked about their work and their life, they spoke like masters of their fate, with a knowledge of the business at hand, and, at the same time, in a very enthusiastic manner. It was as though their eyes were firmly fixed on the future."

The Komsomol, Soviet youth, have been fulfilling with distinction the very important party task -- the task of actively participating in capital construction. Construction organizations employ more than 4 million young workers. More than 140 very large-scale construction projects have been declared to be all-union shock Komsomol projects. Local Komsomol organizations serve as sponsors in the construction of 3000 projects. During the period between the 17th and 18th Komsomol Congresses alone, more than 500,000 young men and women arrived at the country's most important construction projects by traveling on Komsomol trip tickets. Organizations which became a good, patriotic form of young people's participation in construction were the all-union, republic, kray, and oblast shock Komsomol detachments, which make it possible to maintain better sponsorship contacts between the Komsomol organizations and their emissaries.

In response to the summons issued by the party and government to take part in the assimilation and development of the new economic areas in Siberia and the Far East, thousands of young men and women expressed their

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ardent wish to go out to the new construction projects. Volunteers from Moscow, Leningrad, all the union republics, krays, and oblasts of the Russian Federation, as part of the All-Union Shock Komsomol Detachment imeni XVIII S'yezd VLKSM [18th Komsomol Congress], set out for the construction projects; most of them went to Siberia and the Far East and a detachment of 5000 Komsomol men and women and other young people set out in March 1979 to master the natural resources of West Siberia.

The gigantic construction projects in Siberia and the Far East are construction projects of the era of mature socialism. The Communist Party has constantly been concerned to see that, in the course of the carrying out of the program for the assimilation of the eastern parts of our country, there is an organic combination of the development of the productive forces and concern for the man and woman of labor, concern for the worker's welfare and happiness. The Soviet man or woman arrives at the new rayons not as a temporary inhabitant, but as the owner, in a serious manner, for a long-term stay. Therefore it is important to create good conditions for people's everyday living and recreational conditions, and to devote more attention to the construction of housing, club houses, schools, and sports structures. Most of the people working at new construction projects are young people and it is necessary for them to have the opportunity to study, to learn the occupational skills that are necessary both for construction and for their work at the future enterprises. The experience of building many large-scale industrial projects in the country -- Noril'sk and Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, the automotive giants on the Volga and the Kama -- indicates that the construction of housing and of cultural and everyday structures simultaneously with production construction guarantees the creation of stable personnel and the formation of strong production collectives.

Participating actively in the assimilation of the eastern areas are the collectives from many plants, scientific, design, and construction-planning organizations that are situated in many republics, krays, and oblasts. They are carrying out the work orders issued by Siberia and the Far East, are helping to take their wealth not by numbers, but by knowledge, the latest technology and technological processes. Something that deserves the broadest dissemination in this regard is the experience -- approved by the CPSU Central Committee -- in the fruitful cooperation between the industrial enterprises, associations, and scientific and construction-planning organizations of Leningrad and the construction workers at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES.

Twenty-eight Leningrad enterprises and organizations have come forward with the initiative to cooperate with the construction workers at that GES. Forty-three enterprises and organizations in Krasnoyarskiy Kray entered actively into a contract governing scientific-technical cooperation. The high evaluation that was placed upon that initiative by L. I. Brezhnev during his stay in Krasnoyarsk inspired all the participants in the construction of the hydroelectric power station and gave them the incentive to work even better and more effectively. By 1979, more than



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170 enterprises in Leningrad, Krasnoyarskiy Kray, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, and other union republics, krays, and oblasts throughout the country took part in the labor cooperation under the guidance of the party organizations. The workers in the mass media, culture, and the arts took active part in this cooperation.

On 19 December 1978 an industrial load was placed on the first unit at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. The operation of another major power hydroelectric unit began at Yenisey. Thus, in the practical situation, it was proven that the creative approach taken by people in related specialties to the resolution of very important national-economic tasks provides the greatest success, and it made it possible to reduce by 3 million cubic meters the volume of concrete that was needed to put into the dam before the start-up of the first hydroelectric unit, and to put the hydroelectric power station in operation two years sooner.

Greeting the collectives of the construction and installation organizations, the machine-building enterprises, the scientific-research and construction-planning institutes, and all the other participants in the construction of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, L. I. Brezhnev noted, "... as a result of your truly heroic labor, the second gigantic GES on the Yenisey has begun operating for communism."

In the light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work" (1979) and the instructions and recommendations of L. I. Brezhnev which were expressed during his trip to Siberia and the Far East, a factor of great importance is the ideological support of the carrying out of the national-economic tasks in this very rich part of the country. These tasks include a broad group of problems pertaining to ideological activity -- the improvement of political, labor, and moral education, the increase in the effectiveness of mass means of information and propaganda, and the content and forms of cultural-educational work. Another problem of great importance is the problem of the formation of new production collectives. People come here from all ends of the country, sometimes arriving at places that are not yet populated, and at first they encounter definite difficulties of an everyday nature. When meeting the young men and women who are arriving at construction sites, it is necessary to devote constant attention to their education, their class tempering, and their direct involvement in the practical building of a new society. The experience of individual enterprises and entire rayons confirms the effectiveness of the careful preparation of plans for socioeconomic development, an important component of which must be questions of ideological-educational work. A special place under conditions of the eastern parts of the country is occupied by purposeful patriotic and international education. The geographical location of these areas is of great importance in defending the eastern boundaries of our Motherland.

The comprehensive development of Siberia and the Far East will be a powerful accelerator of our country's economic and social progress, and the triumph

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of the Leninist national policy. Together with the rest of the Soviet nation, in creative labor that has been subordinated to the bold transformations of the economy in the eastern expanses of our country, shoulder to shoulder with Russians and Ukrainians, Belorussians and Kazakhs, and the peoples of all the other fraternal republics, one sees as participants the nationalities which at one time were backward and which populate these areas -- Buryats, Tuvinians, Khakasy, Evenki, Nentsy, Doltans, Yakuts. . .

The headlong transformation of the eastern areas is a brilliant testimony of the tremendous advantages of the socialist system of management and the steady implementation of the intentions of the 25th CPSU Congress. This is our party's policy in action. The unceasing concern shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet state for the harmonious, comprehensive development of all the regions of our country inspire Soviet citizens to perform new labor exploits.

THE FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITY OF THE CPSU

The years that have passed since the 25th CPSU Congress were filled with the active foreign-political activities of the party and state, which were aimed at the preservation and the deepening of the detente, the bridling of the arms race, and the reinforcement of the cause of peace and socialism.

In November 1977 L. I. Brezhnev, evaluating the world situation, emphasized that "international relations currently are, as it were, at a crossroads that leads either to an increase in confidence and cooperation, or to an increase in reciprocal fears, suspicions, and the accumulation of weapons -- paths leading, in the final analysis, either to a lasting peace or at best to a state of balancing on the brink of war. Detente provides the opportunity to choose the path of peace. It would be a crime to miss that opportunity." The development of international events during the period that has elapsed has demonstrated the correctness of that evaluation.

The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, all the peace-loving forces have done a lot to reinforce the process of detente, to bring about an increase in confidence and cooperation among states with different social systems. At the same time we witness a continuation of the arms race, the complete responsibility for which is borne by the imperialist circles which are attempting to aggravate and complicate the situation in the world. That has found its expression primarily in certain dangerous tendencies in the policy of the U. S. government; in the long-term arms program that was adopted under its direct action by the NATO Council in 1978; in the development, at the fault of the imperialist states, of new centers of tension in Africa; in the attempts to inflame even more the situation in the Middle East and certain other regions; and in interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Another factor that is seriously complicating the international situation is the great-power, hegemonistic course taken by the Beijing leadership.

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However, in the modern world the progressive forces are playing an increasingly important role. These forces are the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, peoples who have won their freedom and independence, the movement of the nonaligned countries, the international working class and its communist parties, and other broad public and political circles in the capitalist countries, forces which are in favor of peace and cooperation among nations. The unification of the actions of these forces are able to lead to a situation in which the detente will be extended also the military sphere and will become an irreversible process.

During recent years, as a result of the intensive attacks by the imperialist reactionary circles that have been directed against the policy of peaceful coexistence, there has been, at times, a definite slowing down of the detente process.

In the Middle East and the south of Africa, imperialism frequently resorts to direct military coercion; with the aid of plots and the preparation of military intervention, it attempts to hinder the progressive development of Angola; it helps the forces of counterrevolutionary and intervention which are striving to stifle the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Iran. In Latin America, U. S. imperialism is attempting to undermine the liberation struggle being waged by the peoples, and has been placing its reliance upon military fascist regimes.

In Europe the counterattacks waged by the aggressive circles of imperialism against detente find their expression primarily in the forced development of the arms race, in the complete reinforcement of NATO, and the conversion of the European Economic Community into a political coordination center for West European capitalist states.

The arms race in our day has developed into a danger that is completely unprecedented in the history of mankind. According to information cited by the General Secretary of the United Nations, the present-day nuclear arsenal is equal to the capacity of 1,300,000 bombs of the Hiroshima type.

For everyone living on the earth, including old men and infants, there has currently been accumulated, according to estimates made by Western specialists, 15 tons of a death-dealing cargo -- in terms of ordinary explosives. And still the arms race goes on. It is generally known that the NATO Council in 1978 adopted, under U. S. pressure, a decision concerning a new and considerable intensification of the arms race, for which it was planned, within the confines of that bloc, to expend \$80 billion in addition to the previous figure of \$180 billion. In the 1979 fiscal year the United States alone is allocating approximating \$130 billion for military needs.

The foreign-policy program of the 25th CPSU Congress, which serves as a constant guide for the CPSU and the Soviet government, contains as a central point the task of combatting the arms race. The Soviet Union "will never take the path of aggression, will never raise the sword against other peoples." Those words were spoken by the General Secretary of our

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party's Central Committee and the chief of the Soviet state, L. I. Brezhnev, that outstanding political leader who, by his multifaceted activities, has been making an inestimable contribution to the guaranteeing of international security, detente, and the development of international cooperation.

The heartfelt self-interestedness of the Soviet state in the preservation and the consolidation of the peace, the course directed at the end of the arms race, and at universal and complete disarmament, have been firmly established in the USSR Constitution, which legislatively guarantees their invariability and stability. The most obvious evidence of the lack of substantiation of the assertions made in the West concerning the Soviet military threat are the official proposals made by the USSR, which have been directed at restraining the arms race and at disarmament.

Summing up the essence of our position in matters of disarmament, L. I. Brezhnev said, "There is no type of armament which the USSR would not be ready to limit, to ban on a reciprocal basis, on the basis of a state of understanding with other states."

Under conditions of detente there has been no let-up, but, rather, there has been an intensification of the ideological warfare on the international scene.

The reactionary circles in the world are carrying out intensive ideological diversionary actions against the USSR and the other socialist states.

Proponents of the resuscitation of the Cold War kept talking about the "Soviet threat," the "yearnings of the Soviet Union for world dominance," keep saying that that "threat" will increase in proportion to the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, together with the increase in the economic, defense, and scientific potential of the Soviet Union and all the fraternal socialist countries.

The campaign to fight the "Soviet threat" has become "ideological diversionary act No. 1," which has been directed against world socialism and against detente. The essence of this subversive action was revealed by L. I. Brezhnev. "It is not us," he emphasized, "but, rather, definite forces in the West who have been tightening up the arms race more and more, especially nuclear arms. It is not us, but those forces, throwing hundreds of billions of dollars into the bottomless chasm of military preparations, who have been the initiators of the inflation of the military budgets. It is those forces, acting under the false pretext of the 'Soviet threat,' that represent the aggressive line in the international policy of our time.

"And if that line is not given the proper rebuff, the threat of war will grow again."

Imperialism has dumped all its class fury and hatred upon the democratic nature of the socialist society, primarily by extending a demagogic campaign

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"to protect human rights." POLITICAL AFFAIRS magazine, the organ of the U. S. Communist Party, wrote, "The present campaign 'to protect human rights' is first of all a weapon of ideological diversion against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, since it is becoming necessary for the advocates of imperialism, more and more frequently, to occupy defensive positions in the ideological fight against socialism."

Analyzing the status of the ideological combat at the present-day stage, L. I. Brezhnev noted, "Of course, ideological disputes, the struggle between political philosophies, will continue. But we are opposed to the conversion of ideology into a servant of military staffs, and the conversion of the struggle between ideologies into psychological warfare. The peaceful, honest competition between ideas and social practice -- that is our principle."

This principle must become the absolutely fundamental one in the international relations of modern life, when mankind is placing its hopes upon detente -- the only intelligence alternative to the Cold War and nuclear catastrophe.

The international situation is being seriously complicated by the political course of the present rulers of China. By carrying out a great-power, hegemonistic policy, Beijing is placing its reliance upon the supercharging of the international tension and is using any means to undermine the positions of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community, and the liberating forces of modern life.

On 17 February 1979 the entire world learned of China's armed invasion into the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Beijing's aggression against socialist Vietnam was the direct result of the policy of blackmail and pressure which the Chinese authorities have been conducting for a number of years with respect to the countries in Southeast Asia in general, and to Vietnam in particular. The Beijing leaders openly announced that they want to "punish" Vietnam, which has been carrying out an independent policy and has not only refused to cooperate with Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia, but has also become a serious obstacle for the carrying out of Beijing's hegemonistic plans.

The implementation of the hostile plans with respect to Vietnam was originally linked by the Beijing rulers with the Pol Pot clique in Cambodia. The Cambodian patriots canceled those plans. The peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia took the path of the restoration of friendship and good-neighborly relations.

Driven into a rage by the failure of their great-power plans, the Chinese leadership changed over from threats and intimidation to direct armed aggression.

One cannot fail to note the fact that the attack upon Vietnam began, practically speaking, immediately after the Chinese vice-premier's trip to the United States. No propaganda ploys will be able to obscure the responsibility borne by those circles in the United States which directly or

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indirectly contributed to Beijing's actions.

China's attack upon Vietnam attested once more to the extent of the irresponsibility of Beijing's attitude to the fates of the world, to the criminal facility with which the Chinese leadership put weapons to use.

The entire planet launched an indignant protest against the crimes perpetrated by the Beijing interventionists on the land of socialist Vietnam. In the face of the completely unprovoked aggression by Beijing, there proved to be no indifferent individuals. The Chinese troops had to be withdrawn from Vietnamese territory -- that was the unanimous demand of nations.

The Soviet Union, together with all the socialist countries, censured China's aggressive against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and considers effective solidarity with that republic to be an international duty. While defending its independence, Vietnam is fighting for the firm establishment of peace and international security, and for the affirmation of the rights of nations to choose independently the path of their development. Therefore the rendering of assistance to the Vietnamese nation is a common task for the forces that are in favor of peace, freedom, and justice.

The hostile course taken by Beijing has aggravated the relations between the USSR and the CPR [Chinese People's Republic]. The Soviet government has repeatedly made concrete proposals that are aimed at returning the Soviet-Chinese relations to conditions of good-neighborliness and has expressed its readiness to normalize relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 24 February 1978, on the eve of a session of the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives, sent a message to its permanent committee. Soviet-Chinese relations, that message stated, had in recent years taken on a nature which cannot fail to cause serious alarm. The existing situation is leading to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual distrust, to the supercharging of the tension in international relations. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet proposed that our countries come forward with a joint declaration concerning the principles of mutual relations between the USSR and the CPR. A joint declaration to the effect that the two sides would build their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, while firmly adhering to the principles of equal rights, mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs, would advance the cause of normalizing the Soviet-Chinese relations. However, the Chinese leadership occupied a negative position this time also. In 1979 it adopted a unilateral decision concerning the termination of the action of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid which had been signed in 1950.

The materials of the 11th Session of the Communist Party of China (August 1977) and the 1st Session of the VSNP [All-Chinese Assembly of People's

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Representatives], Five Convocation (February-March 1978), and the new CPR Constitution that was adopted at that session, like the practical actions taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in international affairs, make it possible to isolate the following basic trends in the foreign-policy course of the CPR:

-- the further escalation of anti-Sovietism and the buildup of the hostility to the majority of the countries in the socialist community, in addition to attempts to sow discord among their ranks. The anti-Sovietism has been made the basis of the entire foreign policy of the CPR;

-- a clear-cut course aimed at the further activation of the political, economic, and other ties with the capitalist West, and primarily with the very large-scale imperialist powers. Serving these purposes, in particular, are the restoration of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors between China and the United States. The Chinese leaders are becoming increasingly frank in uniting with the most reactionary circles in the western countries that have been speaking out against the detente, and those leaders have been making advances in order to receive aid in extending the production of modern weaponry;

-- hegemonistic longings and claims of "leadership" with respect to the developing countries, primarily in Asia and Africa; etc.

During numerous meetings with representatives of the western powers, the Chinese leaders attempted to convince them that, in the face of "threat on the part of Moscow," it was necessary for China and Japan, in the East, and for Europe, in the West, together with the United States, to forge a broad coalition against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community.

The fact that Beijing's relations with the imperialist countries are completely permeated by anti-Sovietism is also attested to by Chinese-Japanese relations. In 1978, in Beijing, a treaty of peace and friendship between the CPR and Japan was concluded.

The conclusion of the Chinese-Japanese treaty will not bring stability in Asia, will not allay the fears of the countries of Southeast Asia with respect to the "political hegemonism" of China and the "economic hegemonism" of Japan. By concluding the treaty, which includes a statement concerning the joint struggle against notorious "hegemony," Japan proved to be in the position of a country which is objectively promoting the carrying out of Beijing's foreign-political plans.

In Beijing's foreign-political strivings, a special role is assigned to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The chief content of the foreign policy of the current leaders of the CPR is a large-scale program for great-power, hegemonistic strivings.

Beijing sent Zaire weapons and military advisors for the purpose of suppressing the insurgents; has provided all kinds of assistance in the struggle

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against people's Angola, rendering assistance to the Somali aggression against Ethiopia; is helping the United States to create in Namibia and Zimbabwe pro-imperialist governments; approves the separatist transactions of Egypt in the Middle East; has rendered "moral support" to the Shah's regime in Iran against the people of that country; and has expressed solidarity with the fascists in Chile and with the armed drumhead justice of dictator Somoza over the people of Nicaragua. These and other well-known facts confirm that China is getting into the same harness with imperialism and the forces of reaction in the developing countries.

"Representing great danger for all the peace-loving peoples," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "are the feverish attempts of Beijing to disrupt the detent, to prevent disarmament, to sow distrust and enmity among states, its attempt to provoke a world war, and thus to warm its own hands. This policy of Beijing's is profoundly contradictory to the interests of all nations. We shall rebuff that incendiary policy, we shall defend the interests of the Soviet state, the socialist community, and the worldwide communist movement. Today it is not enough to say that Maoist ideology and policy are incompatible with Marxist-Leninist theory. They are directly hostile to it."

Beijing's policy does not reflect the interests of the Chinese nation. It is precisely for that reason that that policy does not have any historic prospects. Nevertheless the strategic course of the Chinese leadership represents serious danger for the cause of peace and is seriously complicating the entire international situation.

A negative influence is being exerted upon the international situation by the extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East. Israel is continuing its aggression in Lebanon, with that aggression representing part of its overall aggressive policy with respect to the Arab countries and peoples. In Lebanon the ruling circles of Israel, cooperating with the conservative forces, are attempting to divide the country, to create a buffer rightist-Christian zone alongside their borders, and, in the final analysis, to eliminate the Palestinian liberation movement. In addition, Israel is attempting, by its policy in Lebanon, to split the Arab national-liberation movement.

The peace treaty signed by the President of the ARE [Arab Republic of Egypt] A. Sadat, Israeli Prime-Minister M. Begin, and U. S. President J. Carter is based on A. Sadat's complete capitulation and his adoption of the terms dictated by Israel and the United States. For the United States the "peace treaty" represents a contract according to which Israel and Egypt pledge, in exchange for definite payment in the form of financial and military aid, to serve the American interests in the Middle East, which have been shaken by the revolution in Iran and the collapse of the CENTO bloc.

The mask of the "peace treaty" actually has been called upon to disguise the attempt to create, first with the participation of Israel and Egypt,



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and then, if successfully, with other states, a military pact that is directed against the Arab states and the Palestinian people, which is supposed to convert the Middle East into a new military strong point for American strategy.

As a result of American pressure, Sadat took a course of carrying out separatist transactions, which contradict the national interests of all the Arabs, and of Egypt itself. He rejected the complete sovereignty of his own country, the protection of the Palestinian cause, and his own pledges to the other Arab countries.

The Egyptian-Israeli treaty does not conform in any way to the task of true normalization of the Middle East problem. The document that was signed in Washington is being called a treaty of betrayal, treason, and capitulation. That treaty reinforces the trampling of the legal rights of the Arab nation of Palestine, bypassing the central problem of the Middle East crisis, and it also fails to provide for the withdrawal of Israeli troops beyond the boundaries that existed prior to the 1967 war.

The unceremonious American interference in the affairs of the peoples of the Middle East, the striving of the United States to subordinate the foreign policy and the domestic development of events in the countries of that region to U. S. interests, and to cover these actions with the false sign of "peaceful normalization" -- all these actions are evoking a growing rebuff on the part of the Arab peoples. Practically all the Arab states have rejected the separate peace. On a conference in Baghdad in late March 1979, the ministers of foreign affairs and economy of the Arab countries adopted a number of resolutions that stipulate the application of political and economic sanctions against the Sadat regime. They include: the breaking of diplomatic relations; the discontinuance of Egypt's membership in the League of Arab States, in the nonalliance movement, in the Islamic conference, and the OAE; and the termination of the granting of loans, bank credit, and financial and economic assistance. All this put President Sadat in isolation.

In this extremely complicated situation, it is completely natural that there has been considerable support to the position taken by the Soviet Union, which opens up the path for the all-encompassing, just resolution of the Middle East conflict. "That path," L. I. Brezhnev said, "is the complete liberation of all the Arab land that was occupied by Israel in 1967; the complete and unambiguous respect for the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create their own independent state; and the providing of the reliably guaranteed security of all the countries in the region, including, obviously, Israel itself." This normalization is possible only with the participation of all the interested sides, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization. And the earlier that it is achieved, the more quickly the Middle East will cease to be a center of tension.

Our party has always devoted primary attention in the modern complicated international situation to the development of fraternal ties with the

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countries of the socialist community, which, together with our country, constitute the nuclear of the present-day worldwide revolutionary process. The socialist community has become a decisive factor in international security, and a reliable ally of the peoples who have been fighting for freedom and independence and against imperialist aggression. Under conditions of the aggravation of the international situation, the common, coordinated struggle against imperialism and for the deepening of the detente has taken on primary importance.

The interrelations among the countries in the socialist community are a brilliant example of the completely new, completely unprecedented alliance of independent and sovereign states, a model of the fundamentally new foreign-political ties that are based on friendship and mutual aid, on the joint struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The 30 years of the activity of CEMA represent a unique model of completely equal cooperation, the harmonious combination of the national and international interests of the participating countries, the practical implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism.

In guiding the construction of the mature socialist society and expanding the mutual aid and cooperation within the community, the fraternal parties and socialist states are executing their duty not only to the peoples of their own countries, but also to the international communist and workers' movement. The consistent implementation of the concrete advantages of socialism over capitalism in all spheres of public life determines to a greater and greater extent the highly dynamic nature of the economic, social, and political development of the fraternal countries and the socialist community as a whole.

Bilateral and multilateral meetings among the leaders of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, which meetings were held after the 25th CPSU Congress, and the joint discussion of the fundamental problems of domestic and foreign policy, help the socialist countries to find the paths for the resolution of the tasks of economic and cultural construction, and to determine a common line on the international scene.

A special place among them belongs to the traditional meetings between L. I. Brezhnev and the leaders of the fraternal parties and states in the Crimea in July-August 1978. In the course of the meetings in the Crimea, a thorough analysis of the present-day international situation was provided. A very important conclusion that was made in the light of that analysis lies in the fact that it is currently more necessary than has ever been the case to exert the further active efforts of the socialist states and to assure their interaction in the interests of the reinforcement and deepening of the detente, as a leading tendency in international life.

The unity of the states in the socialist community, a unity which is constantly growing in strength, is a reliable guarantee of the peace and security of the peoples on our planet and their free and independent

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development. The Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of socialism have repeatedly demonstrated to the entire world their faithfulness to the principles of socialist internationalism. Therein lies the life-sustaining source of our solidarity both in peaceful construction and in the protection of the revolutionary gains of the peoples. A brilliant example of this was the official visit of friendship that was made to the Soviet Union in November 1978 by a delegation of party and governmental officials from the Socialist republic of Vietnam, headed by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Le Xuan and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Prime Minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Pham Van Dong.

The signing, during the course of that visit, of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam became an event of historic importance. That document marks a new stage in the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

Simultaneously with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, a number of important agreements concerning cooperation in the economic and scientific-technical areas were concluded. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech at a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of the Vietnamese delegation that "at this complicated moment, when the policy of the Chinese leadership has created new and considerable difficulties for socialist construction on Vietnamese land, the force of our friendship, the strength of the solidarity among the states of the socialist community, are of special importance."

In late 1978, a new and major step in the development of political and military cooperation was the conference in Moscow of the Political Consultative Committee of the Countries Participating in the Warsaw Pact.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee occurred at a complicated and responsible moment when, in addition to the considerable positive changes in Europe and throughout the world, there was a noticeable increase in the activity of the forces of imperialism and reaction which were attempting to hinder the fundamental improvement of the international political climate.

In the document of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers it is emphasized that the conference of the PCC [Political Consultative Committee] clearly defined the primary tasks whose implementation could, to a decisive degree, contribute to the adjustment of peaceful cooperation both in Europe and throughout the world.

The key problem of present-day international life is the task of causing a decisive turning point toward the end of the arms race, toward disarmament. The total number of various initiatives taken by the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact is directed at the attainment of that goal.

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The states that participate in the Warsaw Pact came forth with an important initiative, proposing that, within the near future, negotiations begin among the five nuclear powers -- the USSR, the United States, England, France, and China -- with the purpose of withdrawing from the arsenals of those states any nuclear weapons in any forms whatsoever, and the application of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful needs. They expressed their firm intention to continue to strive for the implementation in full volume of the understandings which were expressed in the Concluding Act adopted in Helsinki, and to develop and encourage the cooperation among all the European countries in the interests of the consolidation of European security.

In the declaration adopted by the conference of the PCC in Moscow one finds the emphatic expression of the will of the fraternal countries of socialism to reinforce their complete cooperation with one another, to carry out consistently the line aimed at the expansion of interaction with all the progressive democratic forms of modern life. The declaration provides a new impetus to the fight for the improvement of the European and international situation, for the overcoming of those complications and obstacles which still stand on that path.

The Moscow conference of the PCC of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact was a major event in international life. The decisions adopted by that conference will reliably serve the establishment of peace in Europe and throughout the world, the reinforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, and the development of broad, mutually advantageous cooperation among all countries and peoples.

A factor of great importance was the declaration that was adopted during the PCC conference by the leaders of the communist parties and governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic [East Germany], Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia, in which there is an expression of the firm resolve to promote the all-encompassing and just resolution of the Middle East problems. The fraternal socialist states decisively censured the anti-Arab Egyptian-Israeli transactions under the aegis of the United States, which are detrimental to the vital interests of the Arab nations and which only postpone the opportunity for the lasting and just settlement in the Middle East.

After the 25th CPSU Congress, the international position of the Soviet Union became even more solid. That was aided by the continuing change in the ratio of forces in the world, and by the growth in the political, economic, and military might and international authority of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community.

The reinforcement of the position of the Soviet Union in the world was also aided by that gigantic amount of work done by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government to implement the program that was advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress -- the Program for the Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples.

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Despite the opposition on the part of the enemies of detente, there has been a noticeable improvement in the situation in Europe. Definite progress has been achieved in the development of political, economic, and cultural relations among the European states.

The Soviet Union, together with the other European socialist countries, strictly observes and carries out the Helsinki understandings.

An important event in international life was the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The final document of the Belgrade meeting confirms the necessity of the implementation by all states of the understandings that were achieved in Helsinki.

The Soviet Union, which is marching in the vanguard of the peace-loving forces of the world, made a new contribution to the cause of peace. The Soviet-French summit negotiations that were held in Moscow in late April 1979, as a result of which documents of exceptional importance were coordinated and signed, are rightfully considered to be events of outstanding political importance.

Moscow and Paris are justifiably called the first to carry out the detente. At the beginning of the 1970's, thanks to the course that was taken toward rapprochement and cooperations, the Soviet Union and France promoted a turning point toward the policy of detente. At the beginning of the 1980's there arises a task of an even broader scope: the task of assuring that the detente is irreversibly triumphant everywhere on earth. In the resolution of this problem, a contribution is being made by the USSR and France.

"Peace and detente are political twins. If detente is confirmed, then the peace will be stronger," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, speaking at a dinner in the Kremlin in honor of President of the French Republic V. Giscard d'Estaing. A document that has been called upon to promote that is the Program for the Further Development of Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and France in Favor of Detente and Peace, which was signed in Moscow. In that document, the adoption of which became an epochal political landmark, not only has there been a firm establishment of everything positive that has been achieved by the two countries, working together for approximately 15 years of cooperation, but there is also a statement of the long-term goals and a proclamation of the readiness to cooperate actively for the sake of the peaceful future of both nations and of mankind as a whole. "The chief goal of this cooperation between the Soviet Union and France," the Program emphasizes, "is the promotion of the reinforcement of the peace, the reinforcement of detente, of centers of tension, and the attainment of real progress on the path toward disarmament." Its implementation will promote closer and closer political dialogue.

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Taking into consideration the fact that the task of preventing a war is a cardinal task for all states, the USSR and France solemnly declared that they will do everything that they can to assure that mankind will be spared the threat of war. The two sides expressed the conviction that, in the present-day situation, the policy of detente presents the only path that makes it possible to guarantee peace and the establishment among states of relations of good-neighborliness, consent, and cooperation. Both states pledged to undertake in favor of detente positive actions both during the course of the implementation of their own foreign policy and with the aid of joint efforts. The Soviet Union and France expressed the unshakable opinion that the basic trend in the deepening of detente on our continent is the implementation of the principles expressed in the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by all the states that signed it. The policy of operating "from a position of strength," a bloc or hegemonistic policy, is incompatible with peace and detente, and also with the interests of peoples, and should not be encouraged in any way.

At the same time the Soviet Union and France developed steps for the further reinforcement of the complete relations between them, concretely recording them in the Long-Term Program for the Deepening of Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation in 1980-1990, the agreements dealing with economic cooperation in 1980-1985, and in other documents. They serve both the interests of the Soviet and French peoples, and the cause of universal peace.

Evaluating the results of the latest in the series of Soviet-French meetings, L. I. Brezhnev said, "In the cooperation between our countries one sees the opening up of new and vast horizons. This is a major result. The documents that were engendered by this meeting encompass our relations in various areas. But all of them have just one common denominator: movement ahead along the path of cooperation."

A special place in the present-day system of international relations belongs to Soviet-American relations. Recently those relations developed in an extremely contradictory and uneven manner. The U. S. administration took a number of concrete steps in the political, trade-economic, and ideological areas which complicated the relations between the USSR and the United States.

L. I. Brezhnev repeatedly pointed out the special importance of the positive development of relations between the USSR and the United States for the reinforcement of universal peace and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

An important landmark along that path was the meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev and U. S. President J. Carter, which occurred on 15-18 June 1979 in Vienna. The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of

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Ministers, after considering the results of the Vienna meeting, completely and entirely approved the activities of the Soviet delegation that was headed by L. I. Brezhnev, and expressed their profound satisfaction with the results that had been achieved at the meeting, and primarily with the signing of the SALT Treaty between the USSR and the United States, the protocol to that treaty, the other documents affiliated with him, as well as the joint Soviet-American communique.

The Vienna meeting marks an important step forward along the path of the improvement of Soviet-American relations and of the entire international political climate. The complete implementation of the documents that were signed in Vienna is opening up new opportunities for preventing the buildup of the arsenals of nuclear-missile weapons, and for assuring their effective quantitative and qualitative limitation. The resolution of that task would be a new stage in the restraining of the nuclear arms race and would open a road toward the substantial reduction of armaments and the realization of the highest goal: the complete cessation of the production of and the elimination of reserves of nuclear weapons.

The new treaty is based on the principle of equality and identical security and is a just balancing of the interests of the USSR and the United States. No deviations from it can be considered admissible. The Soviet Union is ready to fulfill completely the pledges that it has assumed and proceeds from the assumption that the other side will take a similar approach to this question. That will make it possible within the immediate future to begin the next stage of negotiations for the limitation of strategic arms.

L. I. Brezhnev and J. Carter also carried out a beneficial exchange of opinions with regard to questions that are the object of other current multilateral and Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms limitation and disarmament. The implementation of the principles established in the SALT-II Treaty is supposed to provide an impetus to the most rapid and most successful completion of those negotiations.

In the course of the meeting there was a frank comparison of the positions taken by the USSR and the United States with regard to the key questions in the modern international situation, including those problem areas where those positions diverge. The exchange of opinion on these matters is beneficial.

The Soviet Union places a positive evaluation upon the fact that both sides have come out decisively in favor of the further deepening of the detente. Another factor of great importance is the agreement between the two sides to the effect that the positive shifts that have occurred in the situation on the European continent and that were reflected in the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe require confirmation and development with the aid of measures that are directed at the supplementing of the political detente by military detente. The Soviet Union attaches great importance in this regard to the necessary

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progress at the negotiations in Vienna for the reduction of the armed forces and arms in Central Europe.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers feel that the Vienna meeting opens up opportunities for the more consistent expansion of the areas of Soviet-American cooperation on a well-principled basis of complete equality, identical security, the respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. Corresponding to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the USSR and the United States, this cooperation makes international peace more solid.

Our Motherland, whose high, constructive role in the fundamental reorganization of the system of international relations on principles of peaceful coexistence is currently generally acknowledged, will continue in the future to apply all its efforts to ensure that the process of detente, which currently is the pivot of international development, becomes both truly universal and truly irreversible.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION (30 YEARS OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE)

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] -- the first international economic organization of socialist states -- is 30 years old. The path that has been traveled by the participating countries in the CEMA represents the practical implementation of the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism, and a brilliant testimony of the fact that important conditions for their success, in addition to the national efforts, are the readiness to consider one another's interests, and comradely concern for the welfare and prosperity of all the countries in the community.

The CEMA includes ten socialist states of Europe, Asia, and America with a population of more than 430 million persons. Following Lenin's behests and demonstrating to the world the example of international brotherhood, the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR [East Germany], Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the communist and workers' parties, have accumulated a tremendous amount of experience pertaining to completely equal cooperation in the sphere of material production. The relations among the member countries of the Council have withstood the test of time and have demonstrated their effectiveness. They are built on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence, and national interests, noninterference in internal affairs, completely equal rights, mutual advantage, and comradely mutual assistance.

A remarkable event in 1978 was the entry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam into the CEMA. That was the logical culmination of the close,



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multifaceted relations that formed between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the CEMA member countries. That was convincing testimony of the further consolidation and reinforcement of the unity and might of the countries in the socialist community.

The high rates of economic growth, the high rate of scientific-technical progress, the steady upsurge of the national standard of living and culture, and the gradual drawing closer together and equalization of the levels of economic development -- all these are typical features of the community.

During the past 30 years the CEMA partners multiplied their economic potential considerably. For example, the national income of the states that are included in the Council increased in 1978, as compared with 1948, by a factor of 10, and industrial production by a factor of 17. Occupying 19 percent of the territory and having 10 percent of the population on earth, the CEMA member countries have taken leading positions in the world economy. They produce approximately one-third of the industrial output in the world; currently are providing more than half the increase in industrial production; and their industrial might is greater than that of the United States or than the states in Western Europe, taken together. There has been an increase of a factor of more than 2.5 in the gross output of agriculture in the CEMA member countries.

The total volume of capital investments in the national economy has increased by a factor of 10, as a result of which there has been an increase of approximately 10 times in the fixed production assets of the national economy, an increase of 18 times in the export of output, and more than 19 times in the import of output. There has been a considerable rise in the national standard of living. During these years, more than 70 million apartments were built. That means that approximately two-thirds of the population in the CEMA member countries have moved into new apartments or have improved their housing conditions.

If one speaks in general, the rates of growth of national income in the countries of the socialist community during the period that has elapsed were 3 times higher, and the growth rates of industrial output were 4 times higher, than in the world of capital.

The rapid economic and social development of the countries in the socialist community moved them into a prominent place in the rank of the world's largest states. The successes and achievements of the CEMA member countries are all the more striking in that most of those countries in the past were agrarian, raw-material appendages of capitalist states. Socialism not only helped to raise the economy of those countries quickly, but also created all the conditions for the gradual drawing closer together and equalization of the levels of the socioeconomic development of the countries and nations.

The achievements of the countries in the socialist community in their social and economic development are inseparably linked with the tremendous

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amount of concern shown by the communist and workers' parties for the consolidation of the foundations of socialism, for the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation among the fraternal states. The very basis of the close cooperation is the fighting alliance of our Marxist-Leninist parties, an alliance that has been fortified by the unity of goals and ideals. It is precisely the communist and workers' parties of the countries in the socialist community which are the inspiring and guiding force behind all the activities of the CEMA. It is precisely those parties which are developing the strategy and tactics of the cooperation among the fraternal countries.

With every passing year the ties and contacts among the leaders of the communist parties of the socialist states are becoming increasingly more intensive and more fruitful. These take the form of bilateral and multilateral meetings, the joint discussion of domestic and foreign-policy problems, and the development of a coordinated line on the international scene. An important role in the reinforcement of friendship and cooperation is played by the conferences of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact, and the sessions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Problems pertaining to our relations are considered at friendly meetings and discussions in the Crimea between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev and the leaders of the communist parties and states in the community.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the CPSU and the other ruling parties in the socialist countries creatively elaborate the questions pertaining to the development of the community. At the 23rd Special Session of the CEMA in 1969, the leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of government of the CEMA member countries defined the basic tasks and fundamental trends to be taken in improving the community. They formed the basis of the Comprehensive Program for the Further Deepening and Improvement of the Development of the Socialist Economic Integration of the CEMA Member Countries, which was adopted in 1971.

The states in the socialist community are successfully implementing the Comprehensive Program for Development. The past decade is typical in this sense. Suffice it to state that this period of time the CEMA member countries have doubled their industrial potential. There has been more than a tripling of their reciprocal commodity turnover. The reason for such success lies not only in the national conditions, but also in the integration factor, the intelligence and mutually advantageous division of labor, and fraternal mutual assistance.

The cooperation on the basis of the Comprehensive Program has reinforced even more the unity and solidarity of the socialist community and the positions of socialism in the fight for peace and social progress throughout the world.

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"The work of fulfilling the Comprehensive Program has led to a situation," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "in which there has currently been a considerable deepening of our economic interaction and there has been an increase in the interchangeability of the economies of our countries -- to no small advantage for each of them."

The basic method for the cooperation and deepening of the international socialist division of labor is the joint planning activity of the CEMA member countries. These are: consultative sessions dealing with the basic questions of economic policy; the coordination of the national-economic plans; and many other things. A new and important step in the deepening and improvement of this method has been the collective elaboration by the countries in the socialist community and by the CEMA agencies of the Coordinated Plan for the Multilateral Integrational Measures of the CEMA Member Countries in 1976-1980, in close coordination with the Comprehensive Program.

The plan for these measures stipulated the joint construction of large-scale industrial complexes, 28 very large-scale projects with an estimated value of more than 9 billion rubles. The plan also includes such very important projects in the national economy as the construction of the gigantic Soyuz main gas pipeline, with a length of 2750 kilometers from the Orenburg area to the western border of the USSR for the delivery of more than 15 billion cubic meters of gas each year to the European CEMA countries, the construction of which has been mostly completed; the construction of a 750-kilowatt electrical-transmission line from Vinnitsa (USSR) to Albertirsa (Hungary), with a total length of more than 800 kilometers -- it was activated in late 1978; the construction of the Ust'-Ilmskiy Woodpulp Plant, with a capacity of 500,000 tons of high-grade woodpulp a year; the construction of the Kiyembayevskiy Asbestos Mining and Concentration Combine, with a productivity of 500,000 tons a year; the creation of new capacities for the production of nickel-cobalt output in the quantity of 30,000 tons in the Republic of Cuba, and a number of other projects being erected by joint efforts. Much has been achieved by the CEMA member countries in the area of the international socialist division of labor, especially in the specialization and cooperation of production. The efforts of the fraternal states in this sphere are united by more than 100 multilateral and approximately 1000 bilateral agreements. In machine-building, for example, there are currently in effect approximately 80 multilateral agreements dealing with the specialization and cooperation of production. They encompass more than 8000 different items of production.

A large amount of attention in the plan is devoted to the joint elaboration of scientific-technical problems which are of especially great importance for the development of the economy and cooperation among the countries, and problems in the area of fuel, energy, and raw materials. The expenditures for their elaboration will constitute approximately 600 million rubles.

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Participating in the implementation of the measures in the Comprehensive Program in the area of scientific-technical cooperation are more than 3000 scientific-research and planning-and-designing collectives, and institutions of higher learning, including approximately 200 institutions under academies of sciences.

Fifty-six coordination centers for the most important scientific-technical trends have been created. The efforts of specialists in the fraternal countries have culminated in more than 14,000 theoretical and applies projects, many of which have already been introduced into production and are giving a good return on the efforts that were expended.

The cooperation among the CEMA member countries in the area of computer technology is proceeding fruitfully. During a short period of time the Unified System of Third-Generation Electronic Computers was created.

The execution of the Interkosmos [International Space] program was marked by outstanding successes. Flights were made to inner space by international crews with the participation of citizens from the socialist states. Joint space research is being carried out, which is directed at the resolution of major scientific-technical tasks. They are of great national-economic important for mankind as a whole.

The communist and workers' parties in the countries of the socialist community are carrying out a tremendous amount of work to improve the integrational activities. The results of the economic cooperation are summed up regularly, and new tasks are set down. The 25th CPSU Congress substantiated the need for the development and adoption of long-term target programs for cooperation in the basic spheres of material production. The congress defined as the next overall task the satisfying of the rapidly growing needs for electrical energy, fuel, the basic types of raw materials, the complete satisfying of the demand for foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, and the accelerated development of transportation.

All the CEMA member countries have demonstrated a profound self-interestedness in this. At the 32nd Session of the Council, which was held in the summer of 1978, three of the five long-term cooperation plans which were set forth were approved. Those plans are: the program for cooperation in the area of energy, fuel, and raw materials; a similar program for agriculture and the food industry; and one for machine-building. Within the near future the elaboration of programs for cooperation in the area of increasing the production of consumer goods and the development of transportation will be completed.

The long-term target programs are a new form of joint activity among the CEMA member countries. They put into concrete terms and develop the Comprehensive Program and define the coordinated strategy for interaction for the long-term period.

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The approach to the fuel and energy problem is an example of this kind of cooperation. The essence of the long-term program is to make the most economical and most efficient use of the energy resources; the substantial reorganization of the structure of the fuel and energy balance sheet; and the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering. It is planned by 1990 to construct in the CEMA countries AES [nuclear power stations] with a total capacity of approximately 37 million kilowatts. It is planned to erect on the territory of the USSR, by means of joint efforts, two nuclear electric-power stations with a capacity of 4 million kilowatts each, the power from which will be delivered to the fraternal states. Provision is made for the specialization and cooperation of the production of equipment for the nuclear power stations. The plans are quite large, and the overall task currently consists in carrying them out within the shortest possible periods of time.

One could cite convincing examples of the development of integration in other areas also. Bilateral programs are being developed, for example, for the specialization and cooperation of production for 1981-1990. It is planned to convert the next two five-year plans into a period of the intensive deepening of specialization and cooperation of production in the fraternal countries.

The coordinated economic policy of the CEMA member countries, the further integration and cooperation of production, are protecting the economy of the fraternal states against the detrimental influence of the world of capitalism, which has been seized by profound power, currency, and raw-materials crises. The basic needs for equipment and machinery, raw materials, and fuels in the CEMA member countries are being met by their own production and the commodity exchange among themselves. The reciprocal trade among the fraternal countries is the basic part of their foreign-trade turnover. Its share constitutes approximately 60 percent.

It is important to note that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is not a closed organization. The Charter of the CEMA and the Comprehensive Program confirm in the most definite manner the readiness to develop economic ties with all countries, irrespective of their social or state system, on principles of equality, mutual advantage, and the observance of sovereignty.

In the various parts of the world there has been an increase in the interest shown to cooperation with the CEMA.

Yugoslavia cooperates actively with the CEMA. Participating as observers are representatives from KNDR [Korean People's Democratic Republic], Laos, and also Angola and Ethiopia.

The CEMA countries are active proponents of completely equal, mutually advantageous economic cooperation among the states belong to different social systems. That fundamental course evolves from their adherence to the cause of peace, and is an inseparable element of the policy of

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detente. One of the confirmations of this is the signing of an agreement of cooperation between the CEMA and Finland. Agreements of cooperation have been concluded between the CEMA and Iraq, and between the CEMA and Mexico.

The council maintains relations in various forms with more than 60 international organizations. The high authority of the CEMA is attested to by the granting to it of official status as an observer at the United Nations General Assembly. The entire activity of the CEMA completely corresponds to the high principles of the United Nations and promotes the materialization of the principles of the Concluding Act that was adopted in Helsinki. Its activity promotes the complete development of international economic ties among all the countries of the world, the carrying out of the goals that were reflected in the Declaration dealing with the new international economic order, which declaration was adopted by the United Nations, and promotes the achievement of social progress and lasting peace on earth.

The participants in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance conduct a foreign policy in the spirit of the Concluding Act of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation. The whole world knows of the initiative taken by the Council, which, in the name of the governments of the CEMA member countries, made a proposal to the European Economic Community concerning the establishment of official relations. It is planned to conclude a framework agreement between the CEMA and the CEMA member countries, on the one hand, and the EEC, on the other, which agreement can create the favorable conditions and opportunities for fully equally, mutually advantageous cooperation on the part of both organizations and the states that belong to them.

With every passing year the activities of the CEMA are receiving greater and greater recognition in the developing countries. The fraternal countries provide, on mutually advantageous terms, complete economic and technical assistance to 78 independent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Aid provided by the CEMA member countries has contributed to the activation of 2685 industrial and other projects, and 875 enterprises are being built or will be built in the next few years.

A large amount of assistance is provided to the developing countries in the training of their national personnel. The institutions of higher learning and the technicums in the CEMA member countries have trained 43,000 engineers and technicians for those countries. The CEMA has established a special scholarship fund for citizens from the developing countries.

Guided by the decisions adopted at their congresses and plenums, the communist parties in the fraternal countries devote primary attention to the successful implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration. The CPSU, and its Politburo, headed by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev keep constantly within their field of

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vision the improvement of the relations between the Soviet Union and the countries in the socialist community, and regularly supervise the activities of the organizations that are linked with the implementation of the plans for economic cooperation. A large amount of attention was devoted to those questions in the decisions of the November 1978 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Ninth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ninth Convocation.

The accumulated experience in the cooperation among countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on the basis of high Marxist-Leninist principles serves as a brilliant example of the new type of international relations -- the most democratic, the most just relations that have formed among the large group of socialist countries. This is the embodiment of the ideas of socialist internationalism, the ideas of the friendship and brotherhood of the workers of the entire world.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CPSU FOR THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The consistent struggle to increase the combat readiness and to reinforce the unity and solidarity of the ranks in the international communist movement represents the invariable line of the CPSU and the other truly Marxist-Leninist parties.

The communist movement is the most influential and most mass-scale political force in modern life. Judged on the basis of the dynamics in the growth of its ranks, it exceeds all other political movements on the earth. From 1960 to 1978 it almost doubled its ranks and reached 70 million persons. In a number of independent states in Asia and Africa one can clearly discern an intensive process in the formation and reinforcement of a reserve for the communist movement -- the revolutionary-democratic parties that stand on the positions of scientific socialism. Such parties exist in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, the People's Republic of the Congo, Democratic Yemen, Afghanistan, and certain other countries. It is not precluded that, at a definite historic stage, they might become genuine communist parties. That kind of evolution occurred in late 1978 with the revolutionary-democratic party in Jamaica -- the League of the Liberation of the Workers -- which, at its very first congress (December 1978), was transformed into the Workers' (communist) Party of Jamaica. Good prerequisites are being created for the expansion of the borders of the communist movement and for the further growth in its number of members and its mass nature.

The communist movement today is a real force, a large, powerful, and influential one. Never before has another other political movement, any other ideological current, played in the life of mankind such a tremendous transforming role as the international communist and workers' movement. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman

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of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev, in his report at a solemn session devoted to the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October, emphasized, "Communists won their place in society long ago. They won it specifically by their revolutionary struggle. Their role in society has been acknowledged by nations, and no one has been given the right to withdraw it!"

Historical experience indicates that the might and combat readiness of the worldwide army of communists grow immeasurably whenever the communist parties act in a coordinated and consolidated manner in the fight against the common enemy -- imperialism, capitalism, and reaction. "Capital is an international force," V. I. Lenin wrote. "In order to defeat it, it is necessary to have an international alliance of workers, an international brotherhood of them."

All the major victories won by the revolutionary detachments over imperialist reaction were won thanks to the combat solidarity and unity of the international working class, the progressive forces of the world, the communist movement. The international aid provided by the workers and laborers of all countries helped Soviet Russia to defend the gains of the October Revolution against the combined forces of intervention and counterrevolution. Under the general onslaught of the revolutionary forces, the colonial system crumbled, and as a result more than 2 billion persons acquired their freedom. The consolidated struggle of the international working class led to the formation of the worldwide socialist system -- the decisive factor in the modern world.

With the active participation of the international communist movement, the material and moral support provided by the countries of the socialist community, and the solidarity of all the progressive forces, revolutionary changes occurred in Indochina. The victory of the Vietnamese people over the forces of American imperialism made Vietnam a single socialist state. Lao is currently proceeding along the path of socialist reforms, bypassing capitalism. Relying upon the international assistance provided by the countries in the socialist community and all the revolutionary forces in the world, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Guinea, Afghanistan, and a number of other states are building a new life. The People's Republic of Cambodia senses powerful international support in the struggle for social progress.

As a result of the common efforts of the socialist countries, the worldwide communist movement, and all the progressive forces on earth, the threat of a new world war has been successfully averted and it has been possible to make the peace more reliable despite the resistance put up by the forces of imperialist reaction.

The path that has been traveled by the international workers movement and by the fighters for national independence confirms with all obviousness



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that the degree of unity of all the revolutionary forces, and primarily the solidarity of the communist movement, determines the prospects for the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. "Success in the struggle against imperialism," L. I. Brezhnev notes, "to a large extent depends upon the solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces and primarily their vanguard -- the worldwide communist movement." It is precisely for that reason that the CPSU and the other fraternal parties come forward consistently in favor of the attainment of the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the communist movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," it is emphasized that proletarian internationalism is a very important, time-tested principle in the activities of communists. It penetrates the entire content of the theory and practice of scientific communism. Proletarian internationalism in action means the solidarity of the working class, the communists of all countries, in the struggle for common goals, the supporting by them of the struggle being waged by peoples for their national liberation and social progress, the voluntary cooperation among fully equal, independent fraternal parties, the organic combination in politics of the national and international interests of the workers.

This understanding of internationalism is inherent in all the truly Marxist-Leninist parties. The participants in the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (1976) stated that they "will develop their own internationalist, comradely, voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, with the strict observance of the equal rights and sovereign independence of every party, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for the freedom of choice among the various paths in the struggle for the progressive social reforms and for socialism. The fight for socialism in one's own country and the responsibility of every party to its working class and nation are linked with the reciprocal solidarity of the workers of all countries, all the progressive movements and nations, in the struggle for freedom and the reinforcement of independence, the struggle for democracy, socialism, and peace throughout the world."

The CPSU stands firmly on the principles of proletarian internationalism. True to those principles, it strives to develop the contacts with the fraternal parties of all states. Our party attaches special importance to the further reinforcement of the cooperation with the ruling communist parties. The indissoluble fighting alliance of the Marxist-Leninist parties constitutes the very basis of the close interaction among the socialist countries, its guiding and organizing force. With every passing year the ties among the communists in the socialist community become more and more varied and more and more solid. The deepening of their cooperation on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, the coordination of their actions in the interests of the

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self-confident advancement of the cause of peace and social progress are served by the meetings that have become traditional -- the friendly meetings in the Crimea between L. I. Brezhnev and the leaders of the parties and states of the socialist community.

The 30 years of activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance serve as a confirmation in practice of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. Connected by the bonds of fraternal friendship and complete cooperation, the CEMA member states have achieved during that period tremendous success in the area of the economy, science, and culture.

The successes of the ruling parties of the socialist countries are a very important component of the successes achieved by the worldwide communist movement as a whole, a decisive factor in the reinforcement of its political authority. It is a convincing demonstration of the vital force of internationalist solidarity.

The countries in the socialist community have become an invincible force on the international scene. Their coordinated foreign-political actions limit the opportunities for the carrying out of adventures that are dangerous to the cause of peace. That was reaffirmed by the Moscow Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Participating in the Warsaw Pact, which was held in November 1978. Its decisions promote the consolidation of the peace in Europe and throughout the world, the reinforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations among countries with a different social system, and the development of good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation among states and peoples.

The ideological cooperation among the communists in the socialist community is becoming increasingly more close and more effective, and the circle of the participants in it is broadening. At the present time not only the fraternal socialist countries of Europe take part in it, but also those in Asia and Latin America. A meeting that was of great importance was the one which was held in Budapest in early 1978 for secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties to discuss international and ideological questions. The participants at that meeting shared their experience in ideological-political work and expressed the necessity for the further decisive unmasking of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and for the rebuffing of any political and ideological attacks perpetrated by the imperialist circles against the socialist countries.

In late 1978 another conference was held in Budapest. This time it was a meeting of secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, to discuss organizational-party work. The question that was in the center of attention was the question concerning the role of the communist and workers parties, and the mass organizations, in the political system of socialism and the ideological-political education of the workers in their own countries. It was noted at the conference that

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depending upon the concrete historical conditions and the national peculiarities it is possible for various countries of socialism to have one party or several parties. However, in all instances the guiding force of society, the nucleus of its political system, must be the Marxist-Leninist party. Therein lies the chief guarantee of the stability of the class essence, the truly popular essence, of the political system of socialism, its stability and successful functioning. It was emphasized that, in the process of socialist and communist building, there is an increase in the role played by the communist and workers' parties in the life of society.

In December 1978 the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties to Discuss Questions of Party Training was held in Berlin. There was a beneficial discussion of the organization of Marxist-Leninist training of communists, the increase in the effectiveness of ideological-educational work, the intensification of its link with life and with the tasks of socialist and communist building.

A typical feature of the present-day ideological cooperation among the fraternal parties in the socialist community is the joint carrying out of theoretical conferences dealing with vital questions of Marxism-Leninism, and the construction of socialism. Representatives of the communist parties of the capitalist countries are invited to attend them.

In September 1978 a theoretical conference that was devoted to questions of the development of democracy and the guaranteeing of the rights of man in the socialist society was held in Warsaw. Participating in it were delegations of communist and workers' parties from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, East Germany, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, representatives of the magazine PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, and scientists from West Germany and Greece.

The CPSU is the party of revolutionaries, the party of internationalist. It renders support to nations which are fighting for their freedom and independence. That is well known to the nations of Vietnam and Laos, Angola and Mozambique, Chile and Ethiopia. But the Soviet Union does not seek any advantages for itself. It is not eager to win concessions. It does not strive for political dominance. It does not solicit military bases. The Soviet nation acts in the manner that its revolutionary conscience, communist convictions, impel it to act.

The CPSU comes out consistently in favor of the lasting alliance of all the revolutionary forces on the earth, the complete interaction of the participants in the worldwide communist movement. It constantly strives for the development and improvement of the forms and methods of cooperation, of contact among them. The forms of the ties and the cooperation, unity, and solidarity of the fraternal parties are subordinate to the interests of the fight for the resolution of the common revolutionary tasks, the fight for peace, democracy, and socialism, and are of a concretely historical nature. The fraternal parties develop those forms of

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cooperation which correspond to the placement of the forces on the world arena, to the level of development of the communist movement, and its maturity, and which guarantee the most effective execution of the tasks confronting it.

The present-day international communist movement is constructed on the basis of the voluntary cooperation among independent parties. Communists feel that the best means of communication is the carrying out of bilateral consultative sessions, regional meetings, international conferences, reciprocal participation in the work of party congresses. However, the contacts among the fraternal parties are not limited to these forms of ties. With the development of the communist movement, the cooperation can acquire new forms. Historical experience attests to the fact that the broader the problems that are in the center of discussion by the fraternal parties, the greater the degree of freedom that applies to the forms of their cooperation with regard to the basic questions and the less frequently there arises the need to work out joint mandatory decisions that list in detail the numerous specific factors. In a word, the unity of the communist movement is currently maintained by the high level of consciousness on the part of the communists.

The new forms of the unity of the communist movement and the cooperation among its participants are confirmed and verified by life and by revolutionary practice. Lasting internationalist ties and contacts have formed among the fraternal parties. At the same time, it is possible for differences to arise among them. The most important thing is to discuss them in a comradely manner, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and, by joint efforts, to define the directions to be followed for the purpose of achieving the common communist goals. It is precisely that line that is conducted by the CPSU.

The differences in positions evolve, to a considerable extent, from the different conditions under which the Communists operate, since that leaves a definite imprint upon the goals and tasks of their activities and their choice of tactical means and methods. The parties in the socialist countries carry out the state authority, and have built or have begun to build mature socialism. Others operate in the industrially developed capitalist countries under conditions of bourgeois democracy. Still others are in an illegal or semilegal position and are subjected to repressions. And, of course, there also are subjective reasons for differences in the opinions on individual questions.

Communists are consistent proponents of the development of close and complete cooperation in the fight against imperialism, the fight for peace, the deepening of the process of detente, the reduction of the arms race, the banning of nuclear weapons, the fight against the antipopular policy of the supranational monopolies, the fight in support of the struggling nations for their national and social liberation, and for a number of other vital questions. The internationalist solidarity of the

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communists is attested to by the numerous meetings and conferences of the fraternal parties of various regions, at which the participants have worked out coordinated positions dealing with the vital problems of modern life. A typical feature of these meetings has been the constructive, concrete approach taken toward the consideration of the tasks that have been advanced. The accent is made on uniting and consolidating the communists. This approach to the adoption of decisions increases the effectiveness of the cooperation and facilitates the execution of the tasks that have been set down.

A major event in the international communist movement was the meeting of 24 communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean area, which was held in Havana in 1975. After providing a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present-day situation on the continent, the conference contributed to the consolidation of all the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces in the Latin American region. In the document that was adopted, a sharp censure was made with regard to the dangerous foreign-policy course of the Chinese leaders, their schismatic line in the worldwide revolutionary process, and their betrayal with regard to all the progressive anti-imperialist forces in the world. The participants in the meeting noted the tremendous role played by the Soviet Union in the execution of its international duty to all the revolutionary forces on the earth, in the reinforcement of the peace and international security, in bridling imperialism and the forces of reaction, and in its activity in the fight against the violence perpetrated by foreign monopolies and reactionary regimes.

The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (June 1976) was of historic importance. That forum pointed out the increased ideological-political maturity of the fraternal parties and their active striving for united actions, internationalist solidarity, in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. It struck a blow at bourgeois propaganda that was directed at splitting the European communist movement.

A decisive result of the large amount of work carried out by the conference was the unanimous adoption of a document, the evaluations and conclusions of which are based upon principles of Marxism-Leninism. As a whole, based on the evaluation made both by friends and by our class opponents, the Berlin Conference became a new testimony of the active role played by communists in the life of Europe. Soviet citizens feel a sense of satisfaction from knowing that the CPSU made a worthy contribution to that large cause.

Something that became a brilliant demonstration of the international nature of the international communist movement was the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. That celebration fused into the largest meeting that has ever been conducted by our party. The fraternal parties feel that the reinforcement of the unity of

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the ranks the ranks of the communist movement has also been influenced by the need to use in full measure the increased might of the communist parties in the nonsocialist countries, the majority of which have become major political forces. Many important state questions are being resolved with their participation.

The Italian Communist Party has 1,800,000 persons within its ranks. During the period from 1946 through 1976 that party moved steadily ahead during the parliamentary elections, including the number of votes received: from 19 percent in 1946 to 34.5 percent in 1976. The party occupies strong positions in the municipal, provincial, and regional agencies of authority. Out of 20 regions in Italy, seven are administered by Communists jointly with Socialists. More than 52 percent of the population lives in regions where the power belongs to the leftist forces in an alliance with Communists. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the working masses are rebuffing the rightist forces. The Italian Communist Party received more than 30 percent of the votes in the 1979 parliamentary election.

The French Communist Party acts in an authoritative and influential manner. It has more than 700,000 persons in its ranks. As a rule, more than 20 percent of the voters vote for it in parliamentary elections. The party fights actively for the reconstitution of the alliance of leftist forces. The immediate task, the 23rd Congress of the French Communist Party (1979) emphasized, was that of bringing the number of party members up to one million.

A large role in the life of its country is played by the Communist Party of Japan, which unites 400,000 persons. Despite the certain setbacks during the 1976 and 1977 elections, that party enjoys sufficient attention. Usually as many as 12 percent of the voters vote for it in parliamentary elections. Thirty percent of the population lives on the territory of municipalities which are led by Communists and their allies. The Communist Party of Japan has been demonstrating an initiative aimed at the establishment of united actions with the socialist party, for purposes of the combined struggle for the interests of the workers and against the Japanese-American military alliance and the buildup of the so-called "self-defense forces" of Japan. The party censures the great-power interference of the Chinese leadership in the internal affairs of Japan and the aggression against Vietnam. The Communist Party of Japan is developing contacts with the CPSU.

The Portuguese Communist Party has developed into an important factor of political life. It has approximately 165,000 members. Organizations which are under its influence are the nationwide Intersindical trade-unions association, the Union of Communist Students, the Movement of Young Workers, and the Democratic Women's Movement. The party operates under very difficult conditions and feels the pressure exerted upon it by the forces of international imperialist reaction and the rightist Social

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Democratic leaders. Those forces strive in every way to deflect it from its class positions, to separate it from the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the Marxist-Leninist parties.

However, the party of Portuguese Communists comes out consistently in favor of the development of cooperation between Portugal and the USSR, in favor of the reinforcement of friendship and solidarity with the CPSU on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) is a powerful political force. In parliamentary elections it usually receives as many as 42 percent of the votes. There are inhabited places where more than 80 percent of the residents vote for the Communists. The party is in control of mass-scale trade-union, women's, youth, and peasant organizations.

Authoritative parties are operating in Spain, Greece, Iraq, Syria, and Finland. There has been a steady reinforcement of the positions of Communists in Denmark, the United States, West Germany, and certain other countries.

A large contribution has been made by Communists to the reinforcement of the unity of the working class both on a national scale and on an international scale. In April 1978, 18 countries in Western Europe held an international day of struggle against unemployment, in which millions of workers and employees took part. In a number of states there has been an extension of the processes that contribute to the consolidation of the broad front of the popular forces. A struggle is under way to establish the democratic unity of a broad coalition in France and Italy. The united efforts of the trade unions, irrespective of their ideological orientation, are becoming stronger in the defense of the class interests of the workers. The movement toward trade-union unity is deepening in France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Finland, Great Britain, Japan, Canada, and a number of other countries. In Italy a federation has been formed from three of the country's leading trade-union associations -- the General Italian Confederation of Labor, the Italian Confederation of Workers' Trade-Unions, and the Italian Labor Union.

The unifying processes in the trade-union movement have been aided by the growing percentage of leftist elements in it. Today the trade unions discuss not only questions of raising and guaranteeing wages, guaranteeing the full employment rate, and the reduction of taxes, but also the cardinal questions of economic and political development, and the struggle for the democratization of social life. The democratic demands are tied in, to a greater and greater extent, with the course aimed at fundamental social reforms.

Under the effect of the aggravation of the class struggle in the countries of capital, among a number of leaders in the reformist trade-union

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associations there has been a growing conviction concerning the need to overcome the schism in the trade-union ranks which has existed since the Cold War days. In many reformist national trade-union centers there have been changes in the views concerning cooperation with the Communists. For example, in West Germany as early as 1971 the statement was removed from the charter of the West German Association of German Trade Unions that it "combats communism." In 1972 the British Congress of Trade Unions cancelled the ban on participation by Communists in the annual conferences at the trade-union center. Even in the United States, individual influential trade unions which are oppositionally-minded with regard to the reactionary leadership of the AFL-CIO are speaking out in favor of the nationalizing of large-scale monopolies. In recent years the Communists have been successful in the elections to trade-union agencies in West Germany, Sweden, Italy, Holland, and England, and were elected to leading positions in a number of trade-union centers, for example, in Ireland and England. The leaders of the British Congress of Trade Unions, during a visit by a CPSU delegation to Great Britain (1976), spoke out in favor of establishing contacts with the communist parties of the socialist countries.

The unity of actions taken by the trade unions on the international level is also developing. Beginning in 1973 the World Federation of Trade Union (180 million persons), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (50 million persons), and the World Confederation of Labor (15 million persons) have been participants in joint international forums. At the 9th World Congress of Trade Unions, which was held in April 1978 in Prague, the participants included 303 trade-union organizations which unite 230 million workers from 126 countries.

A large contribution to the reinforcement of the international trade-union movement has been made by Soviet trade unions. They maintain contacts with the trade-union organizations in 128 countries on all the continents. During the past five years 4500 trade-union delegations have visited the USSR and almost 4000 delegations of Soviet trade-unionists have traveled abroad. At the 16th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions (1977), trade-union delegations from 115 countries throughout the world were present.

Fighting for the consolidation of all the anti-imperialist forces, the Communists speak out in favor of the fully equal cooperation with all the democratic forces, and especially with the socialist and social-democratic parties, in the fight for peace, democracy, and the daily interests of the workers, and for the progress of society. The socialist and social-democratic parties are an extremely influential force in the capitalist West. As was pointed out by the regular congress of the Socialist International which was held in November 1978 in Vancouver, Canada, Communists and Socialists, despite the serious ideological differences of opinion, have a definite commonality in their approach to questions of international detente and disarmament and the need to rebuff fascism, racism, and colonialism. The joint actions of the



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Communists and Socialists increase the might of the progressive forces and increase the authority and influence of the communist parties.

The high rate of activity in the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries, their search for independent paths in their movement toward socialism, have attracted the fixed attention of the world public. L. I. Brezhnev, at jubilee ceremonies related to the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October, said concerning the activities of the fraternal parties in a number of capitalist countries, "The theoretical statements that they present. . . contain interesting principles, although probably not all of them could be considered to be completely worked out or indisputable. And that is understandable, since a search is a search. It is important only that the search proceed along the correct direction."

Many fraternal parties in the nonsocialist world enjoy large authority and influence among the masses. The reinforcement of the unity and international solidarity of the Communists multiplies their forces.

The development and consolidation of the ties and contacts with the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, the reinforcement of the cooperation with them, contribute to the beneficial dialogue, to the consolidation of the positions of those parties, and to the successful struggle against rightist and "leftist" opportunism. And in the final analysis all this has a favorable effect upon the overall climate in the international communist movement and contributes to increasing the combat readiness of the fraternal parties.

In fear of the growing influence of communism and its united actions, imperialist reaction has recently extended an especially intensive offensive against the revolutionary forces and the fraternal parties. At the present time more than 30 communist parties have illegal or semilegal status. They are chiefly the parties in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For example, Haiti has a law that imposes the death penalty on anyone belonging to the communist party. The Communists in Chile and Uruguay are subjected to cruel persecution. In Uruguay more than 7000 persons are languishing in concentration camps, of whom almost 5000 are Communists.

The forces of imperialist reaction inspire and direct the activities of various reactionary, neofascist organizations both within the national confines and on an international scale in the fight against communism. Other organizations that attempt to develop active participation are the international neofascist associations such as the World Anti-Communist League." The "New European Order" and the "World Alliance of National Socialists" are closely linked with the CIA and with West European intelligence services. These neofascist organizations are the assistants of the imperialist bourgeoisie in all its dirty deeds, in all its provocations. Their aid is used in making attempts on the lives of Communists and the realistically-minded bourgeois political figures who are ready to engage in joint actions with the Communists in the fight against the economic and political crisis.

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Realizing that, under conditions of peace and detente, the forces of world socialism and communism would become stronger and their international ties would be consolidated even more, imperialism attempts to aggravate the international situation, to torpedo the detente. This manifests itself in the intensification of the arms race by the imperialistic powers, in the attempts to undermine and disrupt the unity of the socialist community by any means.

With that purpose, international imperialism, and primarily American, attempts to use the present Chinese leadership, especially since the goals of Beijing and imperialism, actually speaking, coincide. By means of the differentiated approach and refined flattery, the Beijing leaders attempt to lure toward themselves individual parties, including certain parties in the socialist countries. There is just one goal: the goal of creating a breach in the socialist community, of causing the joint line to waver, and of disrupting the coordination of the actions taken by the forces of worldwide socialism.

The reactionary course directed at the preparation for warfare and at open combat with socialism and communism has currently appeared in its entire ugly nakedness. That is attested to by the decision that was adopted by the Chinese leaders on a unilateral basis -- the decision to render null and void the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, which had been concluded in 1950. The new stage in the treachery of the Chinese upper crust against the ideals of revolution, peace, and socialism is the treacherous military aggression against socialist Vietnam.

China's criminal aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was indignantly censured by the overwhelming majority of communist and workers' parties. Using various forms of actions (special appeals by the guiding agencies of the parties; inquiries in parliaments; mass demonstrations; meetings; series of articles in the party press; etc.), the communist parties headed the broad movement of the progressive public under the motto "Hands off of Vietnam!" True to internationalism, the Soviet nation channeled into the aid fund for fraternal Vietnam, which had suffered as a result of Chinese aggression, three-fourths of the funds obtained from the carrying out of the All-Union Communist *Subbotnik* [day of volunteer donated labor] in honor of the 109th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

In addition to frontal attacks against the communist parties, the imperialist bourgeoisie employs an entire complex of ideological measures in order to besmirch in the eyes of the workers the communist ideals and real socialism, and to divide the warriors for democracy and socialism. This is also served by the idea of "Eurocommunism" that is broadly advertised by bourgeois propaganda. Its true content can be summarized as the attempt to oppose the communist parties of the developed capitalist countries to the communist parties of the socialist countries, and primarily the CPSU. The task posed is to disrupt the international solidarity of the communists.

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Definite difficulties are created by the theoretical statements made by certain participants in the workers' movement, in which there is a manifestation of the underevaluation of the general natural laws underlying the development of revolution and the building of socialism. Among revisionistic ideologies there even prevails the opinion that "Marxism-Leninism is hopelessly obsolete," and proletarian internationalism has become "an historic anachronism." Actions which are extremely harmful are the attempts to cast a shadow on Leninism, to oppose it to Marxism, to limit it to narrow historic and national frameworks. That threatens the ideological disarmament of the workers' movement, and creates additional difficulties for the reinforcement of its unity and solidarity.

However, true Marxist-Leninists do not agree to this kind of posing of the question. As was emphasized at the international theoretical conference in Sofia by General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party A. Cunhal, Marxism-Leninism has always been and continues to be the common compass for the communist and workers' parties and all the revolutionary forces on earth.

In a few places one observes the attempt to reduce the peaceful path to socialism simply to the struggle during election campaigns. Thinking that if most of the voters cast their ballots for Communists and speak out in favor of socialism, then the power of monopoly capital will collapse, means leaving class positions. The Chilean experience reminds one of that. When the real danger arose for the power of large-scale capital and the interests of the American monopolies, the Chilean revolution was stifled. The similar situation has been encountered many times in history and it is not precluded that it can be repeated, because the more powerful the working class becomes and the stronger the forces of progress grow, the greater the attractive force of the masses to socialism and the stronger the resistance that the class enemy puts up.

The communist parties of the capitalist countries are not isolated detachments. They are part of a worldwide army of revolutionaries. The political passivity of a particular party does not increase the powers for the fighters against capitalism. Therefore the fraternal parties of the entire world are attempting to reinforce their internationalistic solidarity and to use all efforts to eliminate the difficulties and obstacles on the path to unity.

The attempts of imperialism, the Chinese leaders, and the other reactionary forces to aggravate the international situation and to weaken the unity of the socialist community, the revolutionary forces of the world, and the communist movement are met by the fraternal parties with the intensification of the consolidated anti-imperialistic actions, the increased activation of the struggle for peace, international security, democracy, and social progress. The year 1978 passed under that banner.

In March 1978 the communists were the initiators of the conducting of a representative international meeting in Amsterdam, which served as a

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powerful impetus for the development of the movement against neutron weapons.

In December 1978 a successful meeting was held in Stockholm for the communist parties of the northern countries: Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The representatives of the fraternal parties discussed questions pertaining to the intensification of the fight for the workers' interests, against the consequences of the capitalist crisis, for detente and disarmament, and against the plans for the production of the neutron bomb and its placement in Europe.

A meeting was held for eight communist parties of the Arab world, to discuss questions of intensifying the fight against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction. There was a Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, which discussed questions of intensifying the fight to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and racism. There has been increased activity in the communist parties of Southeast Asia, especially with regard to counteracting the Chinese expansion against Vietnam.

One of the most remarkable forums during recent years for Communists was the international theoretical conference that was held in December 1978 in Sofia, on the topic "The Building of Socialism and Communism and World Development." The conference, on the one hand, made a major contribution to the development of theoretical Marxist thought; on the other, it contributed to the reinforcement of the internationalistic solidarity and unity of the Communists throughout the world in the fight for the vital political questions of modern life: for peace and international security, and against imperialism and war. Most of the delegates sharply censured the anti-Marxist positions and hegemonistic, great-power strivings of the Chinese leadership, and the actions that it is taking on the world arena, which are dangerous for the cause of peace.

The participants in the conference gave a high evaluation to the role of real socialism in present-day world development. The Communists of all regions expressed their striving to reinforce the solidarity in the cause of deepening the detente and solidifying peaceful coexistence. The conference participants gave a rebuff to the slanderous attacks being made by imperialist propaganda against real socialism, which attacks have been conducted under the flag of "the protection of human rights."

"We are far from asserting," Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee B. N. Ponomarev said in his speech, "that what has already been achieved in the area of democracy, rights, and freedoms are the limit to what is possible. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties in the socialist countries promote the constant improvement of democracy as the chief trend in the development of the socialist state system."

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Communists criticized those who attempt to put Leninism in doubt. It was emphasized at the conference that Leninism is Marxism for our time. As T. Zhivkov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, stated in his speech, "the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism demands that no rejection be made of it -- either partially or completely, which come to one and the same time -- but, rather, than we develop it and enrich it in a new situation, under new conditions."

Fighting for the reinforcement of the unity of the worldwide army of Communists, the CPSU constantly speaks out in favor of the creation of a creative atmosphere in the communist movement and the creation of a comradely comparison of views. It is against the creation in that movement of any center, and is against dividing the parties into parties that lead and those that are led. The CPSU is in favor of truly equal rights for the fraternal parties, in favor of comradely solidarity and joint actions in the fight for the great common goals -- for the ideals of socialism, lasting peace on earth, and the freedom and independence of peoples. Even if, for certain individual questions of theory or practice, there arise differences in positions, this should not hinder the reinforcement and expansion of the cooperation or the internationalistic solidarity of the communist and workers' parties of all countries and continents. The class interests and tasks are higher than anything else.

MEMORABLE DATES:

22 January -- 75 years since the firing (1905) by tsarist troops at a peaceful demonstration of workers in Saint Petersburg (Bloody Sunday). Barricades in the capital. The beginning of the first Russian revolution.

The First Popular Revolution in Russia

The 1905-1907 revolution -- the first popular revolution in the era of imperialism -- showed that a new period of world history had begun, the period of political upheavals and revolutionary battles. "Without that 'dress rehearsal' in 1905," V. I. Lenin wrote, "the 1917 revolutions -- both the bourgeois February revolution and the proletarian October revolution -- would have been impossible."

The 1905-1907 revolution was prepared by the entire course of the socioeconomic and political development. By the end of the twentieth [sic] century, Russia had become a key point in the contradictions pertaining to the entire system of imperialism, and its weakest link. The center of the worldwide revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia.

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The highly developed capitalism of Russia intertwined with the strongest survivals of the serf system in the economy and in the political system. They gave rise to especially cruel forms of exploitation of the proletariat, the extreme poverty of the peasantry, and the crude oppression of the non-Russian nationalities.

The 1900-1903 world economic crisis, which also encompassed tsarist Russia, and the Russo-Japanese War laid bare the rottenness of tsarism, and aggravated to the extreme limits the contradictions between the ruling classes and the broad masses of the workers.

"Thousands and tens of thousands of people," V. I. Lenin wrote, "who have worked all their life to create someone else's wealth are dying from hunger strikes and from the constant malnutrition, are dying prematurely from diseases that have been engendered by the detestable working conditions, the impoverished living conditions, and the shortage of rest."

The situation of the peasantry was just as lawless. By 1905 in European Russia 10.5 million peasant farms, which were disorganized and crushed by the serf-ownership exploitation, had 75 million *desyatinas* [one *desyatina* equals 2.7 acres], with an average of 7 *desyatinas* per household. At the same time, 30,000 large-scale landlords had 70 million *desyatinas*, or an average of 2333 *desyatinas* each. One landlord had as much land as 330 of the poorest peasant families. The shortage of land forced the peasants to lease it from the landlords at usurious rates. The peasants paid for leasing the land more than 700 million rubles in gold annually to the landlords and the treasury.

The combination of landlord, capitalistic, and national oppression and the police-state despotism of the autocracy made the situation of the masses of the people unbearable and gave the class contradictions an especially acute nature. The fundamental needs of social development, the vital interests of the workers and peasants, persistently demanded first of all the elimination of the dominance of the landlords and the tsarist monarchy. The only thing that could resolve these tasks was revolution.

The revolution began on 9 (22) January 1905 in Saint Petersburg, the center of the workers' movement in Russia. On that day, which has been called Bloody Sunday by the people, more than 140,000 workers in the capital, who had been provoked by police agents, set out for the Winter Palace, in order to ask the tsar to protect them against the back-breaking labor, hunger, poverty, and political lawlessness.

That completely unprecedented peaceful demonstration of Saint Petersburg workers in front of the Winter Palace ended tragically. Thousands of persons were killed or wounded. The workers' faith in the tsar was shot down. Waves of protest spread over the country. In January 1905 alone, 440,000 workers struck, that is, more than in the preceding ten-year

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period. Events developed quickly. Revolution began in the country.

The 1905-1907 revolution in Russia was the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in world history, a revolution in which the working class, headed by the Marxist party, acted as an independent political force and resolved tasks of unusual complexity.

"We have ahead of us," V. I. Lenin noted, "not well-trodden paths of slow preparatory work, but the most majestic, the most stupendous tasks of organizing the uprising, of concentrating the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, of consolidating them with the forces of the entire revolutionary nation, and the armed attack, as well as the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government."

The new placement of forces in the liberation movement of the era of imperialism (the guiding role of the proletariat in revolution; the conversion of the peasantry from a reserve of the bourgeoisie to a reserve of the working class) created the necessity prerequisites for the replacement of the tsarist autocracy by the power of the people -- by the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The struggle that ensued under these conditions -- the struggle of the revolutionary masses to overthrow the autocratic-landlord system in Russia -- simultaneously struck a blow at the interests of major monopoly capital, which was closely linked with the tsarist monarchy. All this substantially differentiated the 1905-1907 revolution from the bourgeois revolutions of the past. While remaining bourgeois-democratic in his social content, it was at the same time proletarian with regard to the leading role played by the working class in it, and also with regard to the methods and means of combat.

"Our party," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "stands firmly on the point of view that the role of the proletariat is the role of the leader in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, that, in order to bring that revolution to an end, it is necessary to have the combined actions of the proletariat and the peasantry, that without the winning of political power by the revolutionary classes there can be no victory."

At the height of the revolution, in the spring of 1905, the 3rd Party Congress, on the basis of Lenin's ideas, worked out the basic trends in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of all the workers. According to this strategic plan, the proletariat at the first phase of the revolution, was supposed to establish an alliance with the entire peasantry, to neutralize the bourgeoisie, and to fight for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution -- for the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of the democratic republic, the liquidation of all remnants of the serf-holding system, and the confiscation of the landlords' land. At the next stage the proletariat was supposed to fight for the immediate conversion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The decisions reached at the congress and the party's strategic plan and tactical line received complete theoretical

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substantiation in Lenin's work, entitled "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," which was written in the summer of 1905.

Life confirmed the correctness of the political course that was taken by the Leninist party and demonstrated the insolvency, the bankruptcy of the opportunistic tactics of the Trotskyites, Mensheviks, and the other petty-bourgeois parties.

The Bolsheviks considered an armed uprising to be the decisive means of overthrowing tsarism. They approached the slogan of the armed uprising creatively, with a consideration of the degree of maturation of the nationwide crisis, the correlation of the class forces, and the concrete conditions in the development of the revolution in Russia.

"For us revolutionary Social Democrats," Vladimir Il'ich wrote, "the uprising is not an absolute slogan, but a concrete one. We advanced it in 1898, we posed it in the sense of a general preparation in 1902, but we did not pose it as a general appeal until 1905, after 9 January."

On 14 June 1905 a mutiny flared up among the sailors on the battleship Potemkin. On 20 June the ship's commission transmitted the appeals "To the entire civilized world" and "To all the European powers," in which the people of the Potemkin announced their firm resolve to combat tsarism. The mutiny, V. I. Lenin pointed out, was of tremendous importance: it was the first attempt to form a nucleus of the revolutionary army. For the first time a large-sized unit of the armed forces had taken the side of the revolution. The Potemkin remained "unconquered territory of the revolution."

The uprising opened up an entire area of revolutionary actions for the soldiers and sailors. In June there was an armed demonstration by sailors in Libava, and in August the soldiers in Warsaw, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, and other cities demonstrated.

The success of the armed uprising, to a large extent, depends upon the behavior of the troops. The party of Bolsheviks was the first in the history of the international workers' movement to work out methods of party work among the armed forces.

In addition to the uprising, the party acknowledged the need for the broad application of such a specifically proletarian means of combat as the mass political strike. Unlike the leaders of the parties at the 2nd International, the Bolsheviks considered strikes to be a new and important weapon in the struggle, a school for the revolutionary education of the masses.

The Bolsheviks also resolved in a new way the question of the future power. V. I. Lenin taught that the victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution, in which the proletariat would emerge as the hegemonic force, should lead not to the winning of the power by the bourgeoisie, as had occurred in the bourgeois revolutions of the past, but to the revolutionary-democratic



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dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. The political agency of that dictatorship should be a provisional revolutionary government that relies upon the armed nation. That government would have to establish the democratic republic.

In the struggle against the tsarist autocracy, the working class manifested unshakable steadfastness and their readiness to make sacrifices in the name of freedom, social justice, and progress. An unfading example of their might and heroism was provided by the All-Russian October Political Strike, and by the class battles in Saint Petersburg and in other cities, in the center of Russia and in the outlying areas. That strike led the working class right up to the highest form of the struggle -- the armed uprising.

The summit of the revolution, Lenin emphasized, was the December Armed Uprising in Moscow. Approximately a thousand barricades were erected on the streets of Moscow. The selfless struggle waged by the workers lasted for nine days. The struggle waged by the workers of Presnya was marked by exceptional heroism and stubbornness.

The December uprising demonstrated the unprecedented growth of the consciousness and organizational spirit of the proletariat. A tremendous path had been traveled since 9 January. The working class fought heroically with weapons in their hands for the victory of the revolution. The idea of overthrowing tsarism and liquidating the semifeudal system had become firmly entrenched in the consciousness of the workers and all the laborers of Russia.

The years of revolution was a testing period for two political lines -- the Bolshevik and the Menshevik. The course of the revolutionary struggle confirmed the correctness of the Bolsheviks' strategic plan and tactics.

The authority of the Bolsheviks' party grew in proportion to the development of the revolution. Its ranks multiplied as a result of the influx of the advanced workers and other social elements that were changing over onto the side of the proletariat. On the eve of the 1905-1907 revolution there were 8400 Bolsheviks in Russia, but during the course of the revolution their number reached 46,000.

The chief force of the proletarian party, V. I. Lenin said, lies "not in the number, but in the correct expression of the ideas and policies of the truly revolutionary proletariat."

"Leninist theory," L. I. Brezhnev said, "concerning the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, concerning the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, concerning the attitude to other classes and parties, and concerning the tactics of the proletarian party during the periods of the rise and fall of revolution -- all this continues to constitute a Bolshevik 'model of tactics for everyone' who will have to overthrow an exploiter system."

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In the course of the revolution, as a result of the creativity of the working class and the masses of the people, there arose completely unprecedented political organizations -- Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and then the Soviets of Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. They created in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Rostov, Saratov, Baku, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Sevastopol', Kostroma, Chita, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Smolensk, and many other cities and settlements for the guidance of the strikes and the armed uprising. They were not only agencies of the uprising, but also an embryonic form the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. They were the prototype of the Soviet authority. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the historic experience of the USSR completely and entirely confirmed the vital force of the Leninist theory concerning the Soviets, which are the most mass-scale agencies of the truly people's authority and the expression of genuine democracy.

The 1905-1907 revolution, as V. I. Lenin wrote, opened up "a new and incomparably higher stage in the international struggle of the proletariat than ever before."

It exerted a tremendous influence upon the increase in the revolutionary actions taken by the workers and peasants in many countries of the world and evoked a mighty upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in the colonial East. All this shook the foundations of the capitalist system and brought nearer its overall collapse.

Present-day bourgeois falsifiers, attempting in every way to belittle the international importance of the first Russian revolution, attempt to depict the situation as though it had exerted an influence only upon the countries of Asia. Such attempts were also observed previously. Unmasking them, V. I. Lenin noted, "Very frequently one encounters Western Europeans who make judgments about the Russian revolution as though the events, relations, and means of struggle in that backward country had very little in common with West European relations and therefore could hardly be of any practical importance.

"There is nothing more erroneous than this opinion."

The facts irrefutably confirm that the immediate effect of the first Russian revolution was felt primarily in the intensification of the liberation struggle of the proletariat in the countries of the West.

The profound generalization and skillful use by the Bolsheviks of the accumulated experience of the political guidance of the masses, the implacable struggle against opportunism and revisionism and for the unity of the working class and its hegemony in the liberation, as well as for the alliance between the proletariat and the broad segments of the workers, facilitated and accelerated the overthrow of tsarism in February 1917 and the victorious storming of the exploiter system during the days of the Great October.

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A very important result of the transforming activities of the party and the heroic labor of the Soviet nation was the creation of the mature socialist society. The celebration of the 75th anniversary of the first Russian revolution occurs during the fifth and final year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, which marks a new step forward along the path of the building of communism and the fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

In this regard, materials which are of great scientific and practical interest are those which pertain to the international theoretical conference that was held in December 1978 in Bulgaria. That conference provided a thorough analysis of the place and role of real socialism in the modern world, socialism which is the chief gain of the international working class and the center of attraction of all the revolutionary, progressive forces of modern life.

Soviet citizens revere highly the glorious exploits of the heroes of the revolution. The history of the first popular revolution in Russia is an inexhaustible source of creative inspiration, a school for the political struggle for new generations of revolutionary fighters. In our day, when the international working class is winning a leading role in the broad and powerful all-democratic movement, the historical experience of the first Russian revolution takes on particular importance.

9 May--Victory Day: 35 Years of the Great Victory

The farther that the events of the past war recede into history, the better we see and the more deeply we perceive the entire importance of our victory, the majority of the exploits, the heroism of the Soviet nation and its glorious Armed Forces.

Soviet citizens greet their nationwide holiday -- Victory Day -- in an atmosphere of high political and labor activity, and great patriotic enthusiasm.

For almost 1500 days and nights the Soviet nation fought for victory. That was a struggle that was completely unprecedented from the point of view of its scope, ferocity, and tenseness, a struggle for the freedom and independence of the Motherland, for the future of mankind, and for salvation from the terrors of fascism.

By the summer of 1941, fascist Germany had enslaved almost all the countries of capitalist Europe and had concentrated tremendous economic might in its hands. It had under its control territory on which as many as 290 million persons lived.

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By that time Germany's economy had been completely militarized. The plants in the Ruhr were intensively producing tanks, guns, aircraft, and ammunition. By the summer of 1941 the armed forces of Hitler's Reich were mobilized and consisted of 214 divisions, including 21 tank divisions and 14 motorized. By the beginning of the war the enemy surpassed our border troops, with regard to personnel, by a factor of 1.8; medium and heavy tanks, 1.5; new-type combat aircraft, 3.2; and artillery, 1.25.

"The Hitlerites," the Policy Statement of the CPSU Central Committee on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution states, "used the temporary advantages: the militarization of the economy and entire life of Germany; the prolonged preparation for a predatory war and the experience of military actions in the West; the superiority in armament and the number of troops that had been concentrated ahead of time in the border zones. The economic and military resources of almost all of Western Europe proved to be at their disposal. Hitlerite Germany had seized in the countries of Europe the entire arsenal of arms, vast stores of metal and strategic raw materials, and metallurgical and military plants. The Soviet Union had to enter into single combat with a colossal military machine."

On 22 June 1941 fascist Germany, without declaring war, suddenly attacked the Soviet Union. The Hitlerite clique threw against us 190 divisions, 3712 tanks, 4950 combat aircraft, 47,260 guns and mortars, and 193 combat vessels. It was a strike of unbelievable force.

The entire Soviet nation arose to take part in the just, liberating, truly patriotic war. The nature of the war on the part of the USSR evolved from the nature of the socialist state and its Leninist foreign policy.

During the war the question resolved was the question of protecting against fascism the most advanced social and state system, and the bright future of mankind. Not simply the fate of the Soviet state was being resolved, but also the fate of Europe and the entire world.

By its attack upon the Soviet Union, Germany revealed itself in the eyes of the entire world as a bloody aggressor. The USSR, on the other hand, won the sympathy of all the freedom-loving nations, and took the lead in their struggle against the fascist threat to the world. It was precisely that which became the decisive factor in the development of the Second World War into an antifascist, just war.

During the period of the Great Patriotic War, the inspiring and guiding force of the Soviet nation and its army, the combat organizer of the nationwide struggle against the fascist usurpers was the Communist Party, headed by its Leninist staff -- the Central Committee.

During the very first days of the war the party's Central Committee worked out a program for mobilizing all the forces of the nation in the struggle

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against the enemy. That program was set forth in the 29 June 1941 directive of the USSR Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars] and the Central Committee of the VKP(b).

For purposes of uniting the efforts of the front and the rear, on 30 June 1941 the State Defense Committee was created, under the chairmanship of I. V. Stalin, who was simultaneously the Commander in Chief. The party turned the country into a single combat camp. It proceeded at such time from Lenin's instructions to the effect that, under the conditions of war, "all Communists, first and foremost, all those who sympathize with them, all the honorable workers and peasants, all the Soviet workers must pull themselves up to their full height, in military fashion, and must transfer the maximum amount of their work, their efforts, and their concerns to the immediate tasks of the war. . ."

The party extended a large amount of military-organizer work among the population. In order to reinforce the party management of the armed forces and to increase the role of the political agencies and the army party organizations, there were sent into the Army and Navy 500 secretaries of Central Committees of the communist parties of republics, kray, oblast, city, and rayon committees, 270 responsible workers from the Central Committee apparatus, and 1265 workers at the oblast and rayon party level who were part of the personally appointed apparatus of the party's Central Committee. Many of them became members of the Military Soviets of the fronts and armies, or military political workers.

The entire reserve of party workers who were being retrained was transferred to the Soviet Army: students at Leninist Courses, the Higher School of Party Organizers, and the Higher Party School. At the request of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army, in November 1941 the party's Central Committee carried out the mobilization of 2600 additional Communists for administrative party-political work in the Armed Forces. Simultaneously, Communists and the best Komsomol members were sent to troop units as political fighters. By May 1942 the army in the field received more than 132,000 political fighters, of whom 60 percent were party members or candidate members. During the first year of the war the party sent to the Armed Forces approximately one million Communists. By the end of 1941 there were already 1,300,000 of them in the army in the field. During the period of the war, more than 5 million were accepted as candidate party members, and approximately 3.5 million as party members. The number and quantity of the primary party organizations increased in the army. Whereas the number of them as of 1 July 1941 was 14,751, by 1 January 1942 there were already 26,742, and a year later, 41,000. By the beginning of the war the Communists constituted 13 percent of the personnel, and by the end of 1944 the party segment in the army was 23 percent in the army, and 31.5 percent in the navy.

The entire Soviet home front supported the fighting front. Our fighting men exhibited unprecedented bravery and valor in combatting an avowed enemy, displaying the greatest steadfastness and heroism. Glorious pages

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were written into the chronicle of the war by the heroic exploits of the border troops at the *zastava* [frontier post] of Lieutenant A. V. Lopatin, the defenders of the legendary Brest Fortress, the city of Liyepaya, and many other populated points. Our pilots, artillerymen, infantrymen, and tankmen fought selflessly against the enemy.

The fascist troops suffered great losses on Soviet land. During the first 22 days of combat alone, 92,000 Hitlerites were killed or wounded. By 19 July 1941 the enemy lost 1284 aircraft. The German army had not incurred such losses during the entire period of its combat actions in the West.

The Soviet Army withstood the enemy's powerful onslaught. The resistance put up by the Soviet Army kept growing. The Battle of Smolensk lasted two months. It was there that the Soviet Guards were borne. In recognition of the bravery and valor in the offensive, steadfastness in defense, and firm discipline and organizational spirit, on 18 September 1941 the 100th, 127th, 153rd, and 161st Rifle Divisions were reorganized into the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Guards Divisions.

Kiev fought heroically. The Hitlerites lost as many as 100,000 soldiers and officers there. Their attempt to seize Odessa on the run also was disrupted. One hundred thousands of Odessans began to build defensive lines. Fierce combat engagements lasted for more than two months here. Sevastopol' fought heroically for 250 days. By the beginning of September 1941, the Soviet troops had stopped the enemy on the close approaches to Leningrad. The unprecedented heroism and resistance shown by the defenders of Leningrad and its population, which withstood the most difficult tests of the 900 days of blockade, wrote yet another page in the chronicle of the Great Patriotic War.

The defense of Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa, Sevastopol', Minsk, Tula, Kerch', and Novorossiysk was of great importance for disrupting the fascists' plan for a Blitzkrieg and for defending Moscow.

A very important event in the first year of the Great Patriotic War was the historic Battle of Moscow.

The Soviet Army, while lacking numerical superiority, bled white, in the difficult, exhausting combat engagements in the fight for Moscow, the enemy's main strike grouping. Then, after changing over to the decisive counter-offensive in early December 1941, it destroyed 38 fascist divisions and threw the enemy back to a distance of 100-250 kilometers from the capital.

The defeat of the fascist troops at Moscow was a decisive military and political event in the first year of the Patriotic War, the beginning of a major turning point in the war, and the first major defeat of the Hitlerites in the Second World War.

However, the offensive capabilities of the fascist army were not yet

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exhausted. Taking advantage of the lack of a second front in Europe, the fascist army, in the summer of 1942, changed over to the offensive on the southern wing of Soviet-German front. However, here too the Wehrmacht's plans were not destined to come true. For 200 days and nights there were bloody combat engagements at the walls of Stalingrad. The heroic defenders of the city not only repelled the enemy's fierce onslaught, but also destroyed to a man the crack Hitlerite units. That historic victory was a very important event in the attainment of the fundamental turning point in the course of the Great Patriotic War, as well as the Second World War as a whole. The plans of attack upon the USSR by Japan and Turkey were completely disrupted.

But the Hitlerite army undertook a new offensive in the summer of 1943 in the area of the Kursk Salient. Suffice it to state that both sides put into that engagement more than 4 million persons, more than 69,000 guns and mortars, 13,200 tanks and self-propelled guns, and more than 11,000 combat aircraft.

The heroic efforts of the Soviet troops stopped the Hitlerite offensive that had begun on 5 July 1943. Having undermined the enemy's offensive force at Orel and Kursk, the Soviet Army changed over to the decisive counteroffensive.

The battle of Bursk was an outstanding engagement in the Second World War. As a result of the victory at Kursk and the arrival of the Soviet troops on the Dnepr, a fundamental turning point was achieved in the course of the war. From that moment the Soviet Army held firmly onto the strategic initiative up until the complete defeat of fascist Germany.

In 1944 the Soviet Army inflicted even more crushing blows upon the enemy troops. It became clear to the entire world that the USSR was capable, with its own efforts, to defeat fascism and liberate Europe. That forced the American and British governments to open up the Second Front. But even after that, the Soviet-German front remained the more important, more decisive one, tying down two-thirds of the fascist troops.

The United States and England tried not so much to help the Soviet Union in its struggle, as to gain for themselves advantageous conditions and positions after the defeat of fascist Germany.

In the middle of 1944 there began the great liberating campaign of the Soviet Army, which rendered direct assistance to the nations of Europe in their struggle against fascist tyranny. The Soviet Armed Forces carried out more than 20 large-scale operations involving one or more army groups [*front*]. Participating in them were 11 army-group *ob'yedineniye*, 2 Air Defense army groups, 4 fleets, 50 combined-arms, 6 tank, and 13 air armies, 3 Air Defense armies, and 3 military flotillas.

Among the brilliant operations in 1945, the most stupendous was the Battle of Berlin. The Battle of Berlin began on 16 April 1945 and lasted

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23 days. On 25 April our *chast'*, advancing on two sides, combined to the west of Berlin, tightly closing up in the last pocket an enemy grouping of 400,000 men.

On 30 April 1945 all the radio stations throughout the world reported that Soviet soldiers had rushed into the Reichstag. The Banner of Freedom had been raised above the cupola of the Reichstag. It had been raised there by intrepid scouts M. A. Yegorov and M. V. Kantariya.

". . . That was," L. I. Brezhnev said, "not only the banner of our military victory. It was. . . the immortal banner of October; it was the great banner of Lenin; it was the invincible banner of socialism -- a bright symbol of hope, a symbol of freedom and happiness for all nations!"

On 8 May 1945 Germany signed the act of unconditional capitulation. On 9 May, Soviet troops completed their final operation -- they destroyed the grouping of the fascist army on the approaches to Prague and entered the city.

Carrying out its duties as an ally, the Soviet Union on 8 August 1945 declared war on militaristic Japan. The Mongolian People's Republic also entered the war against Japan. Under the difficult conditions of the Far Eastern theater of the war, the Soviet Army inflicted a crushing blow against the Japanese armed forces. The Kwantung Army of more than a million men ceased its resistance and was captured. On 2 September 1945 Japan signed the act of unconditional capitulation.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and the Second World War ended. Eleven states with a population of approximately 200 million persons were completely or partially liberated from the fascist and Japanese usurpers. The victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism changed the political map of the world. Eleven states in Europe and Asia took the path of socialist development.

More than 7 million Soviet fighting men participated in the operations to free the foreign countries. More than one million of them gave their lives to this sacred struggle. By rendering assistance to the oppressed nations, the Soviet nation demonstrated by deeds its proletarian internationalism and its international solidarity with the workers of all countries.

A large contribution to the victory over Hitlerite Germany was made by the nations of Europe which had been under the fascist yoke; and the victory over imperialistic Japan, by the nations of China, Korea, Vietnam, and other countries in Asia.

The path taken by the Soviet nation to victory was not an easy one. The war required tremendous sacrifices and inflicted unheard-of destruction and sufferings. More than 20 million Soviet citizens died. Tens of millions of persons were left widows, orphans, or invalids. It is difficult



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to find a Soviet family to which the war has not brought grief as a result of the death of those who were near and dear. The Hitlerite hordes converted into ruins 1710 Soviet cities and settlements, more than 70,000 villages, 32,000 industrial enterprises, 98,000 kolkhozes, and 1876 sovkhozes. Thirty percent of the national wealth of the Soviet country was lost. Not a single capitalist state could withstand the difficult tests that became our lot. The Soviet state not only withstood that difficult test, but also emerged from it even mightier and more solid. There was an increase in its international authority and weight in the decision of world problems.

In the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet nation won a military, political, and economic victory over its enemies. That victory was a completely natural phenomenon. The sources of the strength and might of the Soviet nation can be found in the very nature of the socialist social and state system, in its great advantages over the capitalist system.

In the Great Patriotic War there was a greater strengthening of the class basis of the might of the Soviet state -- the insoluble alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

In the war against the USSR, the enemy came up against the invincible force of the friendship of the Soviet nations. Fighting shoulder to shoulder on the front were representatives of 130 nations and nationalities of our Motherland. Brilliant victories on the front were assured by the steadily growing labor successes on the home front. Our defense industry in 1944 alone, every month, produced 5 times as many aircraft and tanks as it had in 1941. In 1944 the Soviet Army received 29,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, more than 40,000 aircraft, and a large amount of other military technology.

Many of the very large-scale operations conducted by the Soviet Army and Navy have gone down in the history of wars as brilliant models of the military art. The names of talented military leaders were linked with their development and implementation.

The Great Patriotic War confirmed with complete force that an exploit in the name of the Motherland was the norm governing the behavior of Soviet citizens. In recognition of their bravery and valor on the fronts, 11,000 persons were awarded the rank of Hero of the Soviet Union.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, more than 900,000 Soviet fighting men were awarded the Order of Glory. More than 2000 were awarded the Order of Glory in all three degrees, and three of them -- I. Drachenko, P. Dubinda, and A. Aleshin -- are also Heroes of the Soviet Union. Among the full recipients of the Order of Glory, four are women: machinegunner D. Markauskene (Staniliyene), nurse M. Nechiporukova (Nozdracheva), sniper N. Petrova, and radio-operator/gunner N. Zhurkina (Kiyek).

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The names of Aleksandr Matrosov and Nikolay Gastello, Yuriy Smirnov and Aleksey Mare'yev, Aleksandr Pokryshkin and Ivan Kozhedub, Zoya Kosmodem'yanskaya, Mariya Mel'nikayte, and many other glorious sons and daughters of our nation became symbols of the majesty of spirit, combat skill, and inflexible will to win.

A brilliant manifestation of the life-renewing patriotism of Soviet citizens in the war was the nationwide partisan movement. It was a very important force in the fight against the enemy. More than 800 underground city and rayon committees and regional party centers, and approximately 300 city and rayon committees of the Komsomol were created in the enemy's rear area. They acted as the direct organizers of the nationwide struggle. By the end of 1943 there were more than one million armed partisans and members of the underground. The partisan detachments grew into brigades, and many brigades grew into large-scale partisan *soyedin niye*.

The Motherland will never forget the unprecedented exploits performed by the Soviet fighting men, partisans, and members of the underground, the heroic labor performed by the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the popular intellectuals -- everyone who fought for victory, whether on the fighting front or on the home front.

A new testimony of that was the publication in November 1978 of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Measures for the Further Improvement of the Material and Everyday-Living Conditions of the Participants in the Great Patriotic War." Veterans were granted additional benefits and privileges -- transportation, medical, etc.

The ideological warriors and inspirers of the Soviet fighting men during the war years were the political workers. They reinforced in the fighting men the great sense of love of the Motherland, instilled faith in victory, and inspired them to perform exploits.

By the end of 1944 there were 137,500 political workers in the army and navy. The chief weapon of the political workers was the ardent party word, as well as personal example in combat. During the war more than 200 political workers were awarded the high rank of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The political workers included Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. The Battle of the Caucasus, the combat engagements on the legendary Little Land [*Malaya zemlya*], the routing of the Hitlerite occupying forces from the Crimea and the Ukraine, the liberation of Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia -- those are the landmarks on the combat trail that was traveled by the armies in which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev fought.

An important role in the centralization of the control of the state, in the carrying out of the political and strategic guidance of military actions was played by the State Defense Committee and the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander in Chief.

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The ideologists of the bourgeoisie use all means in their attempt to distort the history of the Second World War, and to belittle the historical exploit of the Soviet nation and its Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War. But no one will ever succeed in erasing from history, from the memory of nations, the immortal exploit of the Soviet citizens which was performed during the years of the Great Patriotic War.

At the same time our victory is a terrible warning to the forces of imperialist reaction, a stern history lesson to all those who attempt to reevaluate the results of the past war, who rattle their sabers, who threaten the peace and security of nations.

The peaceful labor of the Soviet nation has been reliably defended by our defense might, by our valorous Armed Forces, which have at their disposal everything that they need to provide a crushing rebuff to any aggression directed against our country or against our friends.

The exploit performed by the Soviet nation during the Great Patriotic War will live eternally in people's memory. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev says about this, with deep emotional feeling, "For the Soviet nation that was the Great Patriotic War. The nation waged that war in the name of the freedom and independence of their own Motherland, in the name of the liberation of Europe -- and, yes, the entire world -- from fascist enslavement. That war carried away 20 million Soviet lives. Our nation will never forget it! It will be remembered not only by those who, like me, traveled through the fire of war from beginning to end, but also by the new generations which entered life during the postwar years. Remember that war! -- that is for us the summons to vigilance with respect to the intentions of any new intrigues on the part of aggressive forces, and, most importantly, a summons to the unceasing, consistent struggle for lasting peace, for the end of the arms race, for peaceful coexistence among states."

CONSULTATIONS

Intraparty Democracy

Intraparty democracy arose, together with the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, as a basic attribute of party life. Its essence and chief features were precisely formulated by V. I. Lenin. He noted that our party is organized democratically. "That means that all the party affairs are conducted, directly or through representatives, by all the party members, operating on principles of equal rights and without any exception; moreover, all the officials, all the administrative boards, all the institutions in the party are elected, accountable, and replaceable."

The democratic essence of the CPSU is influenced by the very nature of the Marxist-Leninist party, its historic call, and its class nature. The Marxist-Leninist party is a self-administered sociopolitical organization,

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a combat alliance of Communists and those who share their views, those who have voluntarily united for the purpose of heading the struggle of the working class and all the workers for the triumph of the ideals of communism. The relations among the members of that organization, the entire procedure of its internal life, can be nothing other than democratic and worthy of its high purpose and humanitarian principles.

The CPSU is the party of the working class. The class nature has been inherent in it since the moment of its creation. That class nature, as was confirmed by the 25th CPSU Congress, is also maintained under conditions when the CPSU has become the party of the entire nation. This also defines its intraparty relations. They naturally embody within themselves collectivism, solidarity, organizational spirit, a spirit of discipline, and other social qualities of the working class which have received their concretized expression in the capacious concept of proletarian comradeship, which includes, in Lenin's words, as the whole includes a part, "real, rather than 'play' democratism."

The party accepts only that democracy which not only guarantees for all its members the equal opportunities to resolve the common matters, but also gives each of them the responsibility for the execution of decisions that were jointly reached. Intraparty democracy is inseparable from discipline and from organizational spirit, from unity of actions, from the subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower organizations to the higher ones. The organization of the entire life of the Marxist-Leninist party is founded, completely naturally, on democratic centralism. "We always defend in our press intraparty democracy," Lenin wrote. "But we never speak out against party centralization. We are in favor of democratic centralism."

The democratic and centralistic principles, organically combined in a single principle, supplement and intensify one another, guaranteeing the fruitful viability of the party and its combat capability. Under the conditions of intraparty democracy, centralism and discipline act not as some kind of conditions that have been forced from above, but, rather, as a result of the consciously expressed will of the Communists. In turn, centralism and discipline attach to intraparty democracy the necessary effectiveness and increase its organizing role in the development of the party and in the carrying out of its guiding functions.

As an objectively influenced phenomenon, democratism in the Communist Party manifests itself, however, not automatically. The practical implementation of its norms depends upon the activity of the party, its administrative agencies, and all the Communists. The party has frequently had to defend these norms in the fight against anarchistic elements or proponents of the introduction of "barracks-type", bureaucratic procedures in party life. That is precisely what the situation was like during the period of the creation of the party, when Lenin and his followers had to wage an intense struggle against the Mensheviks and the other opportunists who were attempting to replace truly proletarian principles in intraparty

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democracy by lordly anarchism. At the subsequent stages in its history, also, the CPSU has always manifested high respect for principles in defending and reinforcing the democratic foundations of party construction.

A considerable role in this regard was played by the 20th Party Congress, the decisions of which contributed to the elimination of the consequences of the personality cult and their concomitant well-known deviations from the principles of democratic centralism and the collective nature of administration. An inestimable contribution to the reinforcement and development of Leninist norms and principles of party life was made by the October 1964 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 23rd, 24th, and 25th Party Congresses. Speaking from the tribune of the 25th Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said, "The consistent development of intraparty democracy, the increase in the demandingness toward every party member -- those Leninist principles still pertain. They are the basis for the development of the party in our days as well."

The necessity of the further extension of intraparty democracy has been brought about by the objective factors that are typical of the present stage in the development of society and the party. Under conditions of mature socialism, one sees the manifestation with particular force of the completely natural process of increase in the guiding role played by the party, its responsibility for the entire cause of communist construction. That process, was emphasized by L. I. Brezhnev at the extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is intensified even more as a result of the adoption of the new Constitution. It brings about the necessity of improving all the forms and methods of the organization and activity of the CPSU, so that they will conform to the spirit of the times and to the high requirements of the Basic Law, will guarantee competent party administration of the development of the economy and culture, and will contribute to the progress of social relations and to the success of the organizer and political work among the masses and in the communist education of the workers. In this regard, the consistent deepening of intraparty democracy becomes an exceptionally vital task, the resolution of which will greatly influence the successful implementation of the guiding role of the CPSU.

The party currently has more than 16.5 million Communists. It is made up of 14 republic, 155 kray and oblast, 10 district [*okrug*], and 4320 city and rayon committees, and more than 400,000 primary organizations. This complicated political organism is constantly developing and qualitatively improving; there has been a rise in the cultural and political level and in the rate of initiative and a businesslike attitude on the part of the personnel and all Communists; and there has been a buildup of various kinds of experience in party work. It is completely understandable that the tasks that are connected with the guidance of the party, with the guaranteeing of the well-coordinated, active, and purposeful work at all levels of the party, are becoming more and more critical. The successful resolution of these tasks directly depends upon the absolutely precise observance of Leninist norms of party life and principles of leadership, and the further consistent extension of intraparty democracy. It is only

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in this way that one can ascertain the will of the many millions of persons in the party masses for the adoption of the necessary and correct decisions, and to organize the Communists for the conscious, creative activities required to implement them.

Our nation's life is inseparable from the activity and development of its guiding force -- the Communist Party. The CPSU exists for the nation and it serves the nation. Linked with this immutable fact of our real-life situation, a fact that has been convincingly confirmed in the new USSR Constitution, is another position that has been firmly established by it -- the position of the party in the political system of Soviet society. The CPSU is not only an inseparable, but also the most important, the most active part of that system, its guiding nucleus, whose guiding influence is felt by all the organizations that are part of it. It exerts that influence not only by its political, ideological-educational, and organizer work, but also by the example of interparty life, its democratism, and its organizational spirit. That is why it is completely natural that, on the common class basis, there arose and is becoming constantly stronger the alliance between Soviet and interparty democracy. The norms and principles of life in the CPSU since the very beginning of Soviet state construction exerted upon the development and activities of the Soviets, and all the mass organizations, a direct and fruitful effect.

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, an important trend in the party's entire work of communist construction is the complete development of the political system of Soviet society. The congress posed new tasks in the area of improving the socialist state system and democracy and the providing of all kinds of incentives for increasing the rate of activity and initiative of the state agencies and public organizations.

The basis for the resolution of these tasks is provided by our Constitution. Its fundamental differentiating feature is the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy. It is embodied in the constitutional norms which guarantee the real rights and freedoms of man and the broad, active participation of the working masses in the administration of the country's life, and which express the essence of genuine democracy: the unity of rights and duties, freedom and civic responsibility, the harmonious combination of the interests of society, the collective, and the individual.

We find the primary sources of these norms specifically in the development of the guiding and directing force of society -- the Communist Party. Those sources are, as it were, a mold taken from those norms of intraparty democracy which formed long ago in the CPSU, becoming its very heart and soul and guaranteeing the equal rights of Communists and their active participation in party affairs; the electability, replaceability, and accountability of all the administrative party agencies; the freedom of discussion and criticism; the unity of actions; and the subordination of the minority to the majority. It is completely natural that the principle "There are no rights without obligations, no obligations without rights,"

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which was recorded at one time in the Charter of the 1st International and which later defined the content of all the charters for the Leninist party, became, as L. I. Brezhnev noted, one of the basic principles in the life and activity of Soviet workers.

An important task of the party, state, and public organizations, as was defined by the October 1977 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is the taking of all steps to promote the practical implementation of the new USSR Constitution. This is a matter of converting it into a mighty means for the further development and deepening of socialist democracy, of helping to develop a high level of political culture in every Soviet citizen, and improving, in conformity with the Basic Law, the political organization of society and Soviet law and order. The successful implementation of that work is aided by the further development of intraparty democracy as a factor that influences the progress of our entire political system.

The party also takes into consideration the prospects for that progress. The complete extension of socialist democracy during our day opens up the path for the formation in the future of social communist self-administration. And the CPSU also influences this by the example of the profound democratism of party life as a whole. Many of the norms and principles that have formed in the party and that are typical of the relations of genuine comradeship serve as the prototype of those rules from which the code of social self-administration under communism will form.

The complete and consistent development of intraparty democracy, thus, remains an immutable law of party life. It is in conformity with this law that our party and its Central Committee operate, as they conduct a course aimed at the strictest observance of Leninist norms of party life and at increasing the active participation of Communists.

An especially large amount of work has been done for the practical implementation of the course aimed at improving the norms and principles of intraparty life during the past decade. "The fulfillment of the requirements stated by the 23rd and 24th Congresses with regard to questions of party construction," L. I. Lenin said, "contributed to the further deepening of intraparty democracy, the collective nature of administration, and the development of the forms of organization and methods of activity of the party."

The changes and additions that were made in the party charter by the 23rd and 24th Congresses expanded the rights and obligations of the Communists, the local and primary party organizations, and created additional organizational-structural opportunities for developing the initiative and collective nature of the actions taken at all levels of party life. A number of fundamental decisions that were aimed at the further deepening of intraparty democracy were adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and by the local party agencies. A special place among them is occupied by the Central Committee documents in which there is an analysis of the experience



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in the organizer and ideological-educational work that has been carried out at various party levels. Decrees which are of partywide importance are the decrees entitled "The Practice of Conducting Party Meetings in the Yaroslavl' City Party Organization," "The State of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Tambovskaya Oblast Party Organization," "The Guidance Provided by the Zlatoust City Committee of the CPSU to the Primary Party Organizations at Enterprises," "The Work of the Party Organizations of the Gor'kiy Automobile Plant Under Conditions of Production Association," "The Organizer and Political Work of the Krasnodarskiy Kray Party Committee in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," "The Work of the Party Organization of the Turbomotornyy Zavod Production Association imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov (Sverdlovsk) in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," etc.

A noteworthy event in the life of the Moscow City party organization, which received considerable response throughout out party, was the discussion of the question of improving party-organizational work at the Plenum of the MGK [Moscow City Committee] of the CPSU in November 1977. After noting the successes achieved by the Muscovites in the fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the socialist pledges taken in honor of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October, the Plenum emphasized that they were the result of the increase in the role of the city's party organization in the solution of the complicated socioeconomic tasks, the consolidation of its ranks, the reinforcement of its ties with the masses. Those processes, the Plenum noted, are directly linked with the consistent carrying out of a course aimed at the development of intraparty democracy and at increasing the rate of participation of Communists. The experience of the Moscow City party organization in carrying out that course is of considerable partywide importance. It reflects well the role of intraparty democracy as a factor for increasing the combat capability of the party organizations, and the level of party guidance of economic and cultural construction. The Central Committee and the local party agencies constantly direct the attention of the personnel and all the Communists to the further revealing of specifically this property of intraparty democracy, which most completely characterizes its effectiveness. That is how the question was raised during the discussion of the fundamental problems of the country's economic and social development at the December 1977 and November 1978 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The results of carrying out the course aimed at the extension of intraparty democracy are of inestimable importance for the fruitful development and reinforcement of the Communist Party. They are expressed not only in the creation of the organizational guarantees of the constant observance of the democratic norms of party life, but also, and most importantly, in the fact that there has been a considerable increase in the rate of activity of party work as a whole, and in the fact that there has been firmly established a businesslike atmosphere, an atmosphere of comradely mutual understanding, an attentive attitude toward every Communist, and their high demandingness to one another.

In this situation one sees revealed even more the favorable prospects for

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the further consistent carrying out of democratic centralism, and the Leninist norms and principles of intraparty democracy. But what problems do the party organizations resolve as they carry out in practice the line of party construction that was set down by the 25th Congress? They concentrate the basic attention on the maximum use of the advantages of the already-formed democratic organization of party life and those capabilities that it provides for intensifying the combat capability and the leading role of the party and all its agencies and organizations.

This approach is linked primarily with the requirement that there be a constant increase in the rate of activity of the Communists. Intraparty democracy has always relied upon, and continues to rely upon, independence of action, upon the conscious will of the masses, their direct participation in the affairs of their organizations and of the party as a whole. Our party has always attached primary importance to this, taking all steps to assure the complete equality and high responsibility of its members. The 24th CPSU Congress pointed out the direct dependence of the moral authority of the party upon the high ideological and moral qualities of the Communists. At the 25th Congress L. I. Brezhnev re-emphasized, "We must not forget that every Communist must be a highly dedicated, active warrior for the party, a right-flanker in the rank of builders of communism." That principle took of particular importance in connection with the new USSR Constitution. As L. I. Brezhnev said at the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet, the constitutional reinforcement of the guiding role of the party does not give any privileges to its members, but, on the contrary, imposes upon them still greater obligations. Hence there evolves the necessity of the complete raising of the ideological level, the well-principled attitude, and the activity rate of the Communists. The fulfillment of this requirement presupposes first of all the intensification of the attention shown by the party to the selection for inclusion into its ranks of the most worthy representatives of the Soviet nation. Herein lies one of the profound prerequisites for the development and increase in the effectiveness of intraparty democracy.

At the 25th Congress it was noted that the farther we move ahead and the larger the tasks that the party resolves, the greater the concern we should show concerning the supplementing of its ranks with fresh replacements -- those who had earned the recognition of their primary organization and their entire collective, those who actively distinguish themselves in production and in public life. In this regard, of course, the most positive effect upon intraparty democracy is exerted by the fact that at the present time more than 58 percent of the persons entering the ranks of the CPSU are workers, which a large number of them being workers in the leading occupations who are employed in industry. Another factor of serious importance is the fact that the increase in the kolkhoz party organizations has been proceeding chiefly as a result of the influx of mechanizers, while among the representatives of the intellectual group who are being accepted into the CPSU, the ones predominating are specialists who engage in the development of new technology and technological processes, and are making a substantial contribution to the development of science and culture, and to the communist education of the workers.

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The improvement of the selection of persons for entry into the party who are the most conscious and most active representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intellectuals, and young people creates good prerequisites for the further development of intraparty democracy. But how does one implement those prerequisites in such a way that those who have been accepted into the party not only know their rights and obligations, but are also able to enjoy and execute them, and are able to participate actively in party life? A time-tested means of resolving this task is the intensification of the Marxist-Leninist education of the new party replacements. In this regard, without a doubt, a positive role is played by the practical implementation of the instruction provided by the 25th Congress concerning the necessity of increasing the importance of the candidate's probationary period, in such a way that that period truly is, as Lenin taught, "a very serious test, rather than an empty formality." The party's Central Committee, in the decree "The Work of the Party Organizations of Kirgiziya in Accepting into the Party and Educating Candidate Members of the CPSU," posed specific tasks, the resolution of which will make it possible to guarantee the unconditional execution of the instructions provided by the congress. This document gives all the party organizations a clear-cut orientation in the work of accepting into the party and educating the new party replacements.

In order to guarantee to the fullest extent the increase in the rate of activity of the party masses, it is necessary to intensify the ideological-educational work not only with the candidate members of the party. The CPSU raises high the rank of party member, and develops the lively self-interestedness of every Communist in the party organization's affairs, and the striving to make a most weighty contribution to the carrying out of the party policy. It strives to achieve a situation in which, in absolutely all party organizations, there is well-organized educational work, which helps to eliminate completely from the party environment any manifestations of passivity or indifference and to promote intraparty relations. A large amount of benefit here is provided by the creative use of the experience accumulated in the course of the replacement of party documents.

In order to achieve the political tempering of the Communists, the system of party training is of great importance. The party organizations have done a lot to raise its ideological-theoretical level. There have been more frequent lectures and discussions dealing with the guiding role of the CPSU, Leninist norms in party life, and the place of the party member in the labor collective. In many collectives, schools for young Communists are in operation.

The Central Committee pointed out these positive phenomena in the decree entitled "The Tasks of Party Training in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." At the same time, the Central Committee, critically evaluating that which has been achieved, noted that the situation with regard to party enlightenment requires further improvement in conformity with the tasks that were advanced by the congress -- the tasks of domestic

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and foreign policy and of ideological activity. A number of measures for improving the system of Marxist-Leninist training of the Communists are given in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work."

In addition to the party training, the task of increasing the rate of activity of Communists is promoted to a large extent by party information, which has improved considerably in recent time. Measures that have become more frequent are the individual and group discussions between the administrative workers and the rank-and-file Communists in party committees and directly in the low-level organizations. There has been an improvement in the practice of holding party meetings, which are becoming a real school of party spirit and democratism, and a very important means of developing the independent actions of the Communists and of accumulating their collective opinion and experience. At the meetings and in the everyday life of the party organizations, special attention is directed at developing criticism and self-criticism, at waging an effective fight against any violations of democratic centralism.

All this manifests itself clearly in the content and level of the reporting and election campaigns in the CPSU. Each of these campaigns becomes an important event in the political life of the party and the country. Such an event was the holding of party meetings to hear reports and hold elections, and rayon, city, district [okrug], oblast, and kray party conferences, which occurred in late 1978 and early 1979. The participants at these meetings and conferences considered thoroughly and from all angles the activities of the party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 25th Congress and the subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee, as well as the instructions of L. I. Brezhnev concerning questions of communist construction; analyzed the state of affairs with regard to organizer and political work among the masses and the level of party guidance of the development of the economy of the country, the education of people, and the improvement of the political system of society; provided a fundamental evaluation of the activities of the elected party agencies; and defined the tasks for the future. The collective opinion of the party masses, the constructive recommendations and critical comments expressed during the course of the reports and the elections, found the appropriate reflection in the decisions adopted by the meetings and conferences, and became the basis for eliminating the revealed shortcomings and omissions, and for improving the organizer and political work. That important political campaign reflected the effectiveness of intraparty democratism. All levels in the party emerged from it with an even greater spirit of mobilization, stronger, and more capable of functioning.

The experience of developing intraparty democracy which has been accumulated during recent years was based, to a large extent, on increasing the combativeness and initiative of the primary party organizations, which, as is generally known, constitute the basis of our party. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that, by all their work, they actively promote the combination of the party's policy with the living creativity of the masses, and promote

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the successful carrying out of the economic-political and ideological-educational tasks. The role of the primary party organizations has grown considerably during recent years, when, in conformity with the requirements of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th Congresses, steps were adopted to increase the rate of activity of their work and to increase their role in the life of the labor collectives.

A factor of great importance for the development of intraparty democracy is the improvement of the structure of the party's lower levels. During the past 20 years the primary party organizations have become considerably more consolidated. On the average, the number of Communists per party organization grew as follows from 1957 through 1977: at industrial enterprises, from 41 to 95; at construction sites, from 28 to 39; on sovkhozes, from 27 to 69; on kolkhozes, from 14 to 55. The number of primary organizations that have party committees is constantly growing. From 1971 to 1977 the number increased from 31,219 to 37,150, including party committees operating with the rights of rayon committees, from 610 to 838. Simultaneously, within the makeup of the primary party organizations there has been an increase in the number of shop organizations and party groups. This promotes the improvement of educational work with Communists, and creates new organizational possibilities for raising the level of ideological influence exerted upon every party member and candidate party member, and the more concrete influence upon the everyday social and political activity of the party masses. The successful use of these possibilities depends both upon the primary organizations themselves, and upon the skillful, concrete guidance of them on the part of the superior party agencies. Devoting the maximum amount of attention to the party's lower levels and providing the maximum amount of assistance to them -- those are the areas to which the CPSU Central Committee directs the attention of all the party committees.

One of the most important criteria for broad intraparty democratism is, according to Lenin's definition, "the universal application of the electoral principle." Implementing the norms and principles of electivity, the CPSU involved in administrative work a large number of Communists who had manifested their active participation and organizing capabilities. As a result of the 1978-1979 campaign to hear reports and hold elections, the number of persons in the group of elective party activists constituted 4.6 Communists. That is a great achievement of the party and a brilliant indicator of intraparty democratism in action.

The increase in the number of elective party activists, and the systematic renewal of them with the preservation of the succession of guidance and the intelligent combination of the occupational and social principles in party work make it possible to develop intraparty self-administration, to expand the scope and raise the level of the guiding effect of the party organizations. That leads to a situation in which a greater and greater number of Communists are personally attending the school of party leadership, and acquiring the experience of immediate administration of all their party's affairs.

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The reality of this tendency, which has a positive importance for the development of intraparty democracy and the collective nature of leadership, depends primarily upon the improvement of the qualitative makeup of the party activists and the improvement of the quality of their activities. In recent years, within the makeup of the elective activists there has been a considerable increase in the share of Communists from among the workers and kolkhoz members who are directly employed in the branches of the national economy. More than 1.5 million persons have been elected to administrative party agencies at all levels. At the present time workers and kolkhoz members are included as members of bureaus in practically all rayon and city committees, and half the oblast and kray committees of the party.

All these are positive processes which attest to the fact that the principles and norms of electivity and replaceability of the party agencies, when they are carried out consistently, help to raise the level of political maturity of the party masses. It is important, at the same time, to guarantee a situation in which all the party committees, on the broadest scale possible, involve their members who are not part of the permanent apparatus in the actual implementation of the administrative functions and in the development and organization of execution of the decisions. Herein constitutes at the present time one of the vital problems and one of the chief trends for the further development of intraparty democracy.

Closely related to this is the improvement of the joint principle in party work. The party consistently carried out this democratic principle in its construction. At all levels -- from the CPSU Central Committee to the primary organizations -- the regularity of sessions of joint agencies is strictly observed. These agencies contain representatives of the workers in the most diverse branches of the economy and administration, science, and culture, and this makes it possible to reflect more completely in the decisions that are adopted the vital needs of our development, the interests of the Communists, all the workers, and all the nation. Party agencies everywhere discuss and resolve questions on a broad democratic basis, by conducting the appropriate preliminary consultative sessions, meetings, and scientific-practical conferences, and concrete sociological research, and by involving the party and Soviet activists, specialists, and scientists in the preparation of the decisions. Much has been done to achieve a well-adjusted, effective system of implementing the adopted decisions and of increasing the personal responsibility borne by those who execute them.

We have all the conditions for assuring that the party agencies work out the correct decisions and implement them successfully. But it is no secret that the decisions that have been adopted collectively do not always withstand the practical test and that good and correct decisions are not always executed completely and promptly. How can one explain this? Apparently, sometimes there is not sufficient competency, depth, or self-criticism in

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that analysis of activity which is necessary for preparing a scientifically substantiated guide for action. There is insufficient consistency, persistence, and purposefulness in bringing to its proper completion that which has been begun.

Such shortcomings can be eliminated only by day-by-day, painstaking efforts that are directed at the further improvement of the entire activity of the administrative party boards; the improvement of the democratic procedure for preparing and executing decisions; the development of criticism and self-criticism; the consolidation of the ties between the party agencies and the Communists and nonparty members. It is along this line, which was set down by the 25th Congress, that the intensification of the collective nature of party work must proceed.

Questions that demand an especially large amount of attention are those that are linked with the guaranteeing of the high competency of the collective guidance, its scientific nature, and its genuinely political nature. The decisive word in this regard belongs to the administrative party personnel. At the 25th Congress it was noted that in recent time the persons who have become involved in the leadership of the party committees have included many efficient, politically mature, active specialists in the national economy, who have an excellent knowledge of a specific kind of production and who possess experience in political and ideological-educational work with people.

The improvement of the qualitative composition and the theoretical and occupational training of the party secretaries is of substantial importance for the further improvement of the collective principle in the work of all the party agencies. As is well known, according to the principles of party democratism, a committee secretary has no right to take the place of a board of party leaders. But, as part of that board's composition and activity, he does occupy a special place. He is an elected and a replaceable official on the board, who is obliged to organize its regular, joint, and coordinated work and to guarantee the implementation of all the decisions adopted by it. The increase in the role of the secretaries does not contradict the course aimed at the development of intraparty democracy. On the contrary, it promotes its successful conduct in the practical situation. Collective nature becomes the truly democratic principle of leadership only when, in party agencies, all the questions are discussed and resolved in an atmosphere of comradeship and a businesslike attitude, creativity, and well-principledness. The CPSU Central Committee orients party agencies constantly in this direction. In its decree dealing with the Krasnodarskiy Kray Committee, in particular, it was pointed out, "At plenums, bureau sessions, and party meetings it is necessary to create a situation that predisposes for the thorough and well-principled discussion of questions, the well-principled discussion of opinions, and the revelation of shortcomings." This situation does not arise on the command of any instruction manual or prescription. It is consciously created in the process of the practical work, by the efforts of the entire group of activists, and in this matter the role played by the secretaries of the party committees is especially great.

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One can speak of the true effectiveness of collective leadership only when the jointly adopted decisions are implemented and embodied into the concrete actions of the party organizations, the Communists, and the workers. Obviously, it is necessary for these decisions to define the realistic tasks, and to indicate the names of the persons who are responsible for executing them. In addition, a substantial component of the work performed by party committees is the checking of the execution of the decisions that were adopted. One has in mind the checking not only and not so much on the basis of written reports and statements, as on the basis of familiarity with the state of affairs right out in the outlying areas themselves. The checking must be of a truly democratic nature, fusing together with the practical organization of the execution, and must be carried out with the active participation of the broad masses of the party.

The democratism of intraparty life and the guiding activity of the CPSU received its brilliant embodiment in the Leninist work style, which was confirmed in our party under the fruitful action of its 23rd, 24th, and 25 Congresses, thanks to the collective efforts of all the party organizations and their combat staff -- the Central Committee, headed by L. I. Brezhnev. Leninist style, as the 25th Congress characterized it, is a creative style that is devoid of any subjectivism, and completely imbued with the scientific approach to all the social processes. It presupposes high demandingness toward oneself and toward others, precludes complacency, and opposes any manifestations of bureaucratism or formalism. The party constantly strives to see that Communists -- and primarily Communists who are managers -- embody in their work and in their deeds these democratic features of Leninist party style, and, by their personal example, contribute to its development and to the improvement of party and state leadership at all levels.

The increase in the guiding role of the Leninist party in Soviet society imposes upon that party a historic responsibility. In order to be at the height of that responsibility, the party puts into action and uses to an increasingly complete degree all the factors in its development, including intraparty democracy. Soviet Communists, all our personnel, by their active, selfless, conscious work, are converting intraparty democracy into an effective means of intensifying the combat capability of the CPSU and all its organizations, and into an indispensable condition for the successful resolution of the tasks of communist construction.

## Work With Ideological Personnel Requires Daily Attention

The CPSU Central Committee has frequently emphasized that the present-day level of development of our society, the scope of the tasks confronting us with regard to the building of communism, and the acuity of the ideological struggle on the international scene require, with regard to the ideological-political education of the workers, an increase in the role of the primary party organizations.

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Ideological-educational work as a whole, its successes and shortcomings, find their expression and refraction in the activities of the primary party organizations. It is here that the advanced undertakings are borne and the new forms and methods of working with people are created. The primary party organizations are the first to come into contact with any shortcomings or omissions in work, to take steps to correct them, and to carry out the implacable fight against anyone who is diametrically opposed to communist morality.

"The primary party organizations," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress, "are on the front line of economic and cultural construction, and they operate in the very thick of the nation. By all their work they are actively promoting the combination of the party's policy with the vital creativity of the masses, and promoting the revolution of economic-political and ideological-educational tasks."

Ideological work is a very important sphere in the activity of the party organizations. The extent to which they are organized and carry out the education of the people, the manner in which the Communists serve as a personal example in this work, greatly influence the level of the production and social participation of the working collectives and the successes in the work of forming the New Man. "The primary party organizations, the party groups," states the CPSU Central Committee's decree entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work," "must be the centers of daily ideological-educational activity, they must consolidate the collective, they must skillfully conduct individual work with people, encourage their social and labor participation, increase the efficiency of labor and everyday living conditions, and develop a sense of the new."

Bearing the responsibility for the organization, content, and effectiveness of ideological-educational work in the labor collective are the bureaus in the primary party organizations. An important role belongs to the deputy secretaries, who engage in ideological questions. They take direct part in the development and execution of the long-range and current plans for ideological work and the plans for the economic and social development of the collectives. Their functions include the formation and supervision of party training and the economic education of the personnel; the devotion of much attention to the conducting of mass political campaigns; the rendering of everyday assistance to propaganda specialists, political-information lecturers, and agitators; and the penetration into the work of the wall press and the content of graphic means of agitation. In this regard the well thought-out, purposeful work with this category of elective ideological activists is extremely necessary. In the decree entitled "The Work of Selecting and Educating Ideological Personnel in the Party Organization of Belorussia," the CPSU Central Committee recommended to party committees that they take steps to improve the training and instruction with regard to questions of the organization of propaganda, agitation, and cultural-enlightenment activities of the secretaries of primary party organizations and their

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deputies who are responsible for ideological questions. These instructions are of tremendous importance not only for stabilizing the personnel at the lowest ideological level, and assuring their political and professional growth, but also for improving ideological-educational work as a whole and for forming the completely developed individual.

During the years that have elapsed since the 25th Party Congress and the adoption of the decree on Belorussia by the CPSU Central Committee, the party organizations have done a large amount of work. There has been a reduction in the replacement rate of secretaries of primary party organizations who are responsible for ideological work. At the present time this category of party workers has become more stable. More and more frequently, they are elected for more than one term. Their instruction and training have been organized more efficiently.

A definite amount of experience has been accumulated by the party committees in Moscow. They have established the practice by which regular thoroughgoing discussions are held with every deputy chairman of a primary party organization who is engaged in matters of ideological education. Those discussions are held directly at the party rayon committees, with the participation of the rayon committee secretaries and the chiefs and instructors in the propaganda and agitation sections. As for the deputy secretaries of the shop party organizations, such discussions with them are held in the party committees.

In the field of vision of the rayon committees and party committees there prove to be all the party organizations, both the large-scale ones and the small ones, and this makes it possible to take into consideration the peculiarities of the production and nonproduction branches and the unusual nature of the professional and age composition of the labor collectives. This helps to assure a better study of the personnel to be given the job of deputy secretary for ideological questions, to judge their strong and weak points, and to organize the work with them accordingly.

In the overwhelming majority of primary party organizations in Moscow, the deputy secretaries for ideological questions have higher education and the necessary work experience. Nevertheless the rayon party committees have created for them schools for low-level elective ideological activists, which are part of the system of party education and which are the basic form of their training. The school programs provide for the study of the vital problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU, the theory and the methods of ideological-educational work which were worked out in L. I. Brezhnev's book *Aktual'-nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS* [Vital Questions in the Ideological Work of the CPSU].

In these schools the party committees regularly inform the ideological activists about the decisions of the party and government, give recommendations concerning the practical implementation of the plans that have

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been set down, help to organize the supervision of their execution, and work out, as applicable to the conditions of each collective, the system of organizing party propaganda and the communist education of the workers.

In the schools there has been organized the thorough study of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work." The classes carry out a thorough discussion of the questions of organizing communist education, of increasing the effectiveness of ideological work, and of assuring a comprehensive approach to it and the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral education. The economic administrators and commanders of production entities are broadly involved in giving classes in the schools.

The rayon committees of the party strive to take a differentiated approach to various groups of deputy secretaries, and to hold the classes with them with a consideration of their experience and the demands and peculiarities of the branch in which they work. This kind of approach to the organization of classes makes it possible to intensify not only the theoretical, but also the practical, direction both of the training and the providing of instructions.

The experience of the Muscovites has currently become very widespread and has been adopted by many of the city and rayon party committees throughout the country. But the party committees also use other forms of training the low-level elective ideological activists. The Krasnodarskiy Kray Committee of the CPSU, for example, organized for the deputy secretaries of primary party organizations who are engaged in ideological work, permanently operating two-week courses. In the program for those courses an important place is given to the questions linked with the comprehensive resolution of ideological-educational tasks. Special attention at such time is devoted to unity, to the inseparable bond between ideological-political, labor, and moral education. Teaching the deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations how to take a comprehensive systems approach to the organization and conducting of ideological work in the labor collective means helping them to achieve the skillful combination of economic, organizer, and ideological work, to make better, more complete use of all its means and forms, to carry it out along a broad front in production, in centers of culture and recreation, at places of residence, and to take a differentiated approach to various groups of the population.

By teaching the deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations how to construct the ideological work in a comprehensive manner, the kray committee of the CPSU thus helps to improve the job of providing the communist education of the workers, because a person is educated by the entire socialist way of life, the entire course of affairs in our society. The study and application in the practical situation of the comprehensive systems approach to the organization of ideological work make it possible to understand more deeply its internal structure, the nature of the ties and relationships among its individual directions, and, consequently, to coordinate their interaction more efficiently, to link it more closely

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with life and with the specific affairs of their own enterprises, rayon, or kray.

The improvement of the practice of teaching and instructing the deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations who are engaged in resolving ideological questions is a typical feature for many city and rayon party committees. In Komsomol'sk-na-Amure certain economic managers have underestimated the ideological-educational work, and have attempted to resolve production questions simply by administrative measures, without thinking deeply about the educational consequences of the decisions that are made. On the other hand, the city party committee also observed that practice when certain deputy secretaries of primary party organizations who were in charge of ideological work reduced all their activity simply to the carrying out of purely propaganda and enlightenment measures, without penetrating deeply into the real processes of the enterprise's economic activity, or the development of the production and economy of the particular shop, shift, or brigade.

The city party committee completely studied and summarized these processes and then set down steps to combine the economic and ideological work. Taking into consideration the fact that the lack of completely understanding in the solution of that question frequently emanates from the deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations for ideology, the city committee of the CPSU posed the task of teaching them how to conduct the ideological-educational work as a single complex, in inseparable unity with economic affairs. A permanently operating seminar was organized under the city party committee. At its classes a prominent place was occupied by the questions linked with the ideological support of the fulfillment of the established plans, the socialist pledges, and the plans for the introduction of new technology, the output of new types of products, and the economizing of fuel and raw and other materials. All the work was constructed in such a way that it not only contributed to increasing the effectiveness of production and the quality of labor, but also exerted an influence upon the increase in the rate of participation and initiative of the masses, upon the person's political philosophy and consciousness, and helped to achieve the complete development of the individual.

This exacting approach to the organization of training makes it possible for the city party committee to concentrate the attention of the deputy chairmen on the process of educating the people in their production life.

No less important in the activities of the schools, courses, and seminars is the teaching of the deputy secretaries how to plan their work. Planning, especially comprehensive, long-range planning, makes it possible for the deputy secretary to construct the ideological-educational work in the collective in a more purposeful manner, with a glance into the future.

At the present time, comprehensive long-range planning of ideological-educational work has become firmly established in the practice of the

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party organizations. It helps the party bureaus to define precisely the most important areas in their work, to choose from among the large number of various matters the most important ones, and to take on as standard equipment those forms and means of influence which provide the greatest effect.

Comprehensive long-range plans, as a rule, are drawn up for the entire period of the effective term of the party bureau. They take into consideration the most vital measures that have been set down by the plan for the socioeconomic development of the labor collectives. The comprehensive long-range plans for ideological-educational work in these instances act as component parts of the overall plan for the work of the party organizations. They are discussed and approved at party meetings.

In ideological-educational work it is also important for the comrades who are responsible for organizing it in the collective to have a clear idea of the opportunities, role, and place of the various ideological institutions: the propagandists, political-information specialists, agitators, reporters, and lecturers to know what functions, what mission they have been called upon to carry out; and to help them efficiently to execute their duties. And no one has been called upon first of all to be concerned about this as the deputy secretary for ideological questions has been. But he himself must be sufficiently trained and must have a detailed knowledge of ideological work. The party committees are devoting a large amount of attention to raising his level of professional skill.

A factor of special importance in ideological work is the political and general educational level of Soviet citizens, their level of information. It is necessary for the received information to be perceived correctly, for people to have a thorough understanding of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, to see their own place and role in the carrying out of those jobs in which the collective is involved, and come out decisively against everything that hinders the movement ahead.

And the effectiveness of information to a considerable degree depends upon the direction that the ideological work is taking in the collective, upon those who are conducting it, and primarily upon the deputy secretary for ideological questions. If he has a complete mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, understanding the importance of ideological education, and can analyze the mechanism and structure of ideological activity, then, without a doubt, he will correctly define the means, forms, and methods of influence which are the most desirable in the specific situation.

In this regard work with deputy secretaries of party organizations for ideological questions which deserves attention is the work carried out by the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon Party Committee in Taganrog. A two-year school and permanently operating seminar have been created there. The training both in the school and at the seminar is organized in

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a differentiated manner. At the classes, the attention of the deputy secretaries is concentrated on the thorough study of the theory and policy of the CPSU, the interpretation of the vital problems of communist construction, the worldwide social development, and the ideological struggle. Special attention is devoted to the study of the works written by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental ideological-theoretical principles that have been advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Involved in the conducting of classes are the best propaganda forces in Rostov and Taganrog, and the scientists and teachers at higher educational institutions. Frequently reports are given at the classes by experienced deputy secretaries of party organizations who have valuable things to share and to discuss. In the school, the seminar classes are conducted by secretaries and section heads of the city and ray party committees. All this not only helps to raise the level of the ideological-political training of the deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations and arms them with theoretical knowledge, but also helps them in their organizer and educational work among the workers.

What does this kind of training provide? What is its effectiveness? Wherever the training has been organized efficiently, there has been a noticeable strengthening of the composition of the deputy secretaries of the party organizations who are engaged in ideological work. A reserve of them has also been created. The deputy secretaries have acquired the necessary knowledge and experience in the planning of ideological work, and in the selection and preparation of ideological questions for discussion at party meetings and at sessions of the party committees and the party bureau. The deputy secretaries have begun to penetrate more deeply into production and economics. Questions of technical progress, socialist competition, the propagandizing and introduction of advanced experience, and the reinforcement of labor discipline are in the center of their attention. The ideological-educational work in the collectives has also become more meaningful and more effective.

At the present time many oblast, city, and rayon committees and their propaganda and agitation sections organize their work in such a way that all the deputy secretaries of the party organizations for ideological questions have a complete mastery of the Leninist style of administering the ideological work and the art of providing the communist education of the masses, and are capable of conducting this matter on the level of present-day requirements. They also see their task in working more persistently to expand their theoretical horizon and to have a better knowledge of the methodology and practice of that work. This is one of the most important conditions for increasing the effectiveness of ideological-educational work as a whole in the collectives.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work," it is emphasized

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that the skillful organization of that work is becoming an increasingly important factor in determining the course of the economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development of the country, the complete implementation of the opportunities available to mature socialism, the carrying out of the Leninist foreign-policy course of the Soviet Union, and the reinforcement of its international positions. This circumstance requires that the party committees devote even greater attention to the work with the elective low-level ideological activists.

Moscow -- Capital of the 1980 Olympics

The year is 1976. Montreal transfers the symbolic Olympic baton to Moscow. the 21st Olympic Games are declared closed; on a huge information board, transformed electronically into a movie screen, Red Square appears; the familiar outline of the Spasskiy Tower becomes visible; the pealing of bells in the Kremlin is heard; and a Russian girl with the traditional bread and salt pronounces, "Welcome to Moscow in 1980!"

Thus began the new Olympic four-year period, the crowning event of which will now be the 22nd Olympic Summer Games. They will take place in the capital of our Motherland, in Moscow, from 19 July through 3 August 1980.

The decision to give the honored right to hold the Olympic Games in the capital of the world's first socialist state has become a convincing testimony to the general recognition of the historical significance and the correctness of our country's foreign political course, the enormous services of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, its contribution to the international Olympic movement, and to the development of physical culture and sports.

The Muscovites' desire to take upon themselves the organization of the Olympics was a manifestation of the high ideals of the Peace Program that is consistently carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This, in fact, is how our state will carry out the international obligations it has taken upon itself, including those that appear in the Final Act of the Helsinki Accord on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We consider the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow to be one of the concrete expressions of the materialization of the Helsinki Accord in which, in particular, it is written, "For the purpose of expanding existing ties and cooperation in the area of sports, the participant states will encourage appropriate contacts and exchanges, including sports meetings and competitions of all kinds which are conducted on the basis of generally accepted international rules, regulations, and practices."

The 1980 Olympics will serve as an important contribution not only to the development of the Olympic movement, but also the matter of international detente, the strengthening of peace, and the friendship of peoples.

More than ever before in its 80-year history, the Olympic Games have turned

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into an event of great social and political significance and actively exert an influence on all aspects of the life of society. It is clear that international relations, the disposition of political and class forces in the world arena, and the presence in the world of two opposing systems -- capitalism, which has outlived its day, and socialism, which is growing and becoming stronger with every passing day -- leave their imprint on the Olympic Games, as a large-scale social phenomenon.

The history of the Olympic movement is characterized by a constant struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces. The former strive to achieve the broader propagation of the noble Olympic ideas, to place the Olympic movement and sports at the service of the education and strengthening of a person's health, and to use them as a means of bettering mutual understanding and strengthening friendship among the peoples of all countries and nations.

The forces of reaction attempt to use the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games in the interests of the exploiting classes, for the purposes of commerce and business, of propagandizing the bourgeois way of life, and the capitalist system and its ideology, and for the distraction of youth from the political and class struggle.

The most critical ideological struggle between the two opposing social systems has an effect in the most direct manner on the choice of cities for the Olympics, on the program of the competitions, and on the treatment of the preparations for and conducting of the Olympic Games.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, constantly showing its concern for the welfare of the people, for the satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs, has created the conditions for the development of truly mass physical culture and sports, and for bringing them under conditions of mature socialism into the lives of the people in the fullest and most genuine way.

Physical culture and sports in the USSR, in solving the tasks of educating a healthy, harmoniously developed person, have a great influence on the entire course of the development and formation of the Olympic movement. And it is in this respect that the Moscow Olympics will become a qualitatively new stage in that movement.

Our country's friends are striving to give support and assistance to the 1980 Games in every way possible. Our enemies are attempting to discredit our work in preparing for the Olympic competitions, and to undermine the authority of the Soviet Union. The very fact of the recognition of Moscow as the capital of the 1980 Olympics provokes the most violent attacks on the part of our ideological opponents. Bourgeois propaganda is attempting to prove that the USSR is incapable of providing the technical support for the Olympic Games, that the people of Moscow will not be able to house

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its guests, etc. Of course, behind these vain attempts to slander the Moscow Olympics, a second, more global aim can be clearly seen -- the attempt to discredit the very system of socialism, its potentialities, achievements, Soviet democracy, our way of life.

The preparation for and the conducting of modern Olympic Games with their extensive program, large number of participating countries and sportsmen, the reception of congressmen, judges, and tourists, the organization of radio and television broadcasts, the operation of the press center and the providing of services to the representatives of the mass information media is not an easy matter, but a complex one, demanding great efforts.

To be awarded the right to hold the Olympic Games is a great honor, for it is an acknowledgement of the country's merit, its contribution to the Olympic movement, its resources for conducting the Olympics on the highest organizational and sports-technology level.

And Moscow, having taken on the role of host to the 1980 Olympics, will certainly fulfill these functions with its characteristic hospitality, dignity, and concern for its guests. The 1980 Games will gather together approximately 13,000 sportsmen and officials from 120-130 countries, 3500 sports judges, 3000 participants of congresses of the International Olympic Committee and international sports federations. There will be 7000 representatives of the press, television, and radio to report on the competitions. The arrival of more than 600,000 tourists is expected, half of them foreigners. This is more than Munich and Montreal welcomed in their time.

Moscow is already completing the construction of new sports buildings, hotels, and hostels, and the remodeling of the existing ones. An extensive network of restaurants, dining halls, cafes, stores and enterprises providing everyday services, and transportation and communications projects is being created. They are being equipped with up-to-date technology and sports equipment.

Worldwide experience in Olympics-related construction attests to the fact that preparing a city for the Games is a complex urban-planning task. The organizers of the Olympic Games usually encounter contradictions that arise as a result of the demands of the International Olympic Committee and sports federations with regard to the number of sports buildings and their capacities, and the capacities of the stands.

The organizers of the previous Olympics, having expended considerable means for the construction of new buildings, were unable to make efficient use of them after the Games. This was the case with many sports buildings in Rome, Tokyo, Munich, and Montreal.

In approaching the implementation of the construction program, the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies enunciated its general principles.

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First, all construction will be of high quality, but without unnecessary extravagance, and with an eye to its future efficient use. The structures are not to remain as dead monuments to the Games, but must fully serve the Soviet people afterwards.

Second, the minimum distance between the sports buildings and the Olympic village must be calculated as a factor.

Third, the Olympics' sport facilities will technically meet all Olympic standards.

On the basis of competition among Moscow localities for the accommodation of participants and guests of the 1980 Olympics, a city building plan which was in accord with the General Plan for the Development of the Capital was adopted.

Moscow is a modern socialist city whose development is provided for in long-range and five-year plans. Therefore, everything that is to be done for the Olympic Games will be fully incorporated into the long-range plan for Moscow's development: the building of hotels, camping grounds, personal-service enterprises, the modernization of airports, railroad stations, and city transportation facilities; the expansion of international and long-distance automatic telephone exchanges, television and radio channel capacity, etc.

Olympic preparations will provide an incentive to bring to life projects to improve the capital's municipal services that have been incorporated into national plans. The long-range plan for the development of Moscow has been redrafted to take into account the speeded-up construction and commissioning of individual projects by 1980.

It should be stressed that the preparation for and the conducting of the Games will not affect the rate of construction of housing or cultural and public-services facilities in Moscow or the other Olympic cities in the USSR. Even more housing is being constructed now than in previous years. Muscovites are getting not less than 100,000 free, fully-equipped apartments annually.

The implementation of measures to prepare the capital for the 22nd Olympic Games is an important step in carrying out the task assigned by L. I. Brezhnev -- the task of making Moscow a communist showplace.

It will have six Olympic complexes. The main one is being formed around the Central Stadium imeni Lenin in Luzhniki. The colorful, formal ceremonies of the opening and the closing of the Games will take place at its Large Arena. The final soccer meets and the track and field events -- the most popular sports contests -- will also take place there.

The Small Sports Arena at the Luzhniki Stadium, whose stands have a seating

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capacity of 12,000 persons, is being covered and converted into a large sports hall where volleyball competitions will be held. The open swimming pool, which is also being modernized, will be the scene of water polo competitions. They will be viewed by 10,000 persons. The Sports Palace will be turned over to the gymnasts and judo contestants. It will seat 14,000 sports fans. A new general-purpose sports hall with a capacity of 2500 persons is being built near the tennis courts.

A second sports complex will be set up in the Leningradkiy Prospekt area. It will contain the oldest stadiums in the capital -- the Dinamo Stadium and the Young Pioneers' Stadium -- and the sports installations of the TsSKA [Central Army Sports Club], which will be supplemented with new buildings. The all-purpose Dinamo Gymnasium, with a capacity of 5000 seats, which is being built on Ulitsa Lavochkina, is part of this complex.

The third sports complex is in Krylatskoye, where there is already a world-renowned rowing channel. Not far from here the first covered bicycle track in our country, with grandstand seating for 6000, is being built. The first new Olympic construction project is underway right next to it -- a paved circular road for bicyclists, stretching for 13.5 kilometers. In this same area an archery field with temporary grandstand seating for 3000 is being laid out.

The fourth complex will consist of two new very large sports structures -- a covered stadium and a swimming pool in the Prospekt Mira area. The covered stadium will have a removable partition dividing it into two separate halls. This will be the first -- and an excellent one at that -- enclosed stadium in Moscow, with a regulation soccer field and running tracks. Even the swimming pool will be the first among its Moscow counterparts, and with its size and grandstand capacity it will completely meet the requirements of the International Sports Federation.

The Sports Palace in Sokol'niki is part of the fifth Olympic sports complex, as is a new all-purpose sports hall with grandstand seating for 5000 in Izmaylovo, where the weight-lifting meets will take place. In Mytishchi, a Moscow suburb, the Dinamo firing range is being renovated.

The sixth complex is the equestrian center being built in the Vitebsk Forest Park.

In the Michurinskiy Prospekt area, covering 107 hectares, a fully-equipped mini-neighborhood is under construction. This group of buildings, consisting of eighteen 16-story apartment buildings, will be the Olympic Village, reserved for national sports delegations and their attendants. The athletes will be housed two to a room. Administrative, cultural, commercial, and other centers are being built on the area of the Olympic Village.

At the conclusion of the Games, 14,000 Moscow residents will receive comfortable two- or three-room apartments in this picturesque part of

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the capital. More than 40 air-terminal complexes will be expanded, modernized, or built anew for the Olympics. The designs that specialists consider to be the most interesting ones are those for expanding and remodeling specifically the Olympics' air harbors -- the Moscow Air Terminal and the air terminal in Tallin, where, as is generally known, the Olympic sailing regatta will be held. In 1980, Moscow's airports will serve approximately 60,000 passengers a day. In order to cope with such a volume of traffic, the air terminal at Vnukovo has been modernized and the airport at Domodedovo has been improved. The air-terminal complex at Sheremet'yevo has been considerably expanded. An additional runway has appeared on the landing field. The runway is designed to handle not only the heaviest contemporary air liners, but also those that will appear in the future. There will be an increase in the maximum handling capacity at the Sheremet'yevo Air Terminal and the Vnukovo Airport.

Many services are being prepared to meet the Olympians. For example, it is expected on days of the Games, the Moscow transportation system will transport more than 30 million passengers a day. This is 4 million more than now. The Moscow State Automobile Inspectorate (GAI) has developed a general plan for organizing the flow of all types of transportation; as an aid to drivers, illuminated Olympic street signs are being erected. During the two weeks of the Olympics, GAI employees will be on duty along the city's transportation arteries in full dress, as is customary on important holidays. The 1980 Olympics will be given the go-ahead signal.

The Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet has adopted a decision on the widespread introduction of modern technical means for regulating the traffic flow, including use of the Start telecontrol system for traffic regulation. At complicated intersections, television cameras and electronic devices for measuring the flow of automobiles will be installed. Their signals will flow to a central control panel, and electronic computers will output the optimum solutions in order to prevent traffic jams and congestion.

The huge "Olympic family" will be constantly under the solicitous protection of the medical service. Everything that is necessary for this was set forth in the master plan for the organization and management of the medical-sanitary support for the Olympic Games in Moscow and Tallin, and also in Leningrad, Kiev, and Minsk, where the soccer tournament matches will be held. In compliance with the laws of the USSR, free medical care will be provided for all who come to the Games.

An International Youth Camp is being built in a forest not far from Sheremet'yevo airport. The stories of three apartment buildings have risen, and in 1980 a tent city will also appear in the forest glades. Located nearby are a large sports complex with practice halls, an enclosed swimming pool, an auditorium, a medical hygiene service post, a restaurant, and a summertime movie theater. Representatives of youth organizations who will come to the Games from many countries in the world will be housed in this camp.

114

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There are major means of mass media for the journalists who will be sent to Moscow in 1980. A six-story building for the main press center is being built on Zubovskiy Bul'var. After the games, the Novosti Press Agency and the USSR Union of Journalists will be housed here.

With the help of modern communications facilities, the Olympic Games have been transformed into a world event. Nearly one billion television viewers watched the Games in Munich. One-and-a-half billion people from almost 100 countries of the world saw the Montreal Games on television. It is expected that the audience of the Moscow Olympics will be significantly greater. For television broadcasting of the games of the 22nd Olympics in Moscow, an Olympic television and radio complex is being set up, which consists of the Olympic television and radio center that is being built adjacent to the existing one in Ostankino, a switching center, and television systems at 24 sports facilities. The complex will make it possible to transmit the events of the Games in color on 18-20 channels and to broadcast 100 programs by radio. Two artificial earth satellites will provide for transmission of the Olympic reports to all the continents. One of these satellites has already been launched and is being tested. It is important to note here that the remodeling and expansion of the Ostankino television center is necessary not only for the broadcasting of the Olympic Games. It is necessary also so that the programs of the Central Television System can be relayed to the most distant regions of our vast country at a time that is convenient for the television viewers. The development of television was provided for by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Special attention has been given to questions of controlling the Games, to equipping the Olympic facilities with the most up-to-date technology. Located next to the Large Arena in Luzhniki there will be an automated control system -- the Olimpiada [Olympiad] system. With the aid of this system, the Organizing Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games will control the conduct of work to prepare for the Games, on the basis of network schedules, and will take into account the financial and bookkeeping operations, the training of personnel, and provide for the registration of the athletes, officials, and journalists. The automated control system will help the organizers of the Games in the distribution of entrance tickets and passes to the competitions, will prepare the necessary information on the athletes, on the progress of the Olympic competitions, and on world and Olympic records, and will compile, in accordance with the assigned program, the official results of the 1980 Olympics. The technical equipment for the automated control system will be provided, for the most part, with devices manufactured in our country and in the countries united by the plan for the integration of the CEMA. Judged on the basis of its engineering characteristics and the quantity of computer technology, the Olimpiada system will satisfy all the modern requirements.

Taking into account the experience of the press corps at the Olympic Games in Tokyo, Mexico City, Munich, and Montreal, the Organizing Committee of

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the 1980 Olympic Games foresees the creation of up to 20-25 auxiliary press centers, in addition to the main press center, at all the Olympic installations. All the press centers will be equipped with the latest information equipment. Journalists will be able to receive starting lists, results of competitions, video information from television screens, and use telegraph and telephone equipment to communicate with all the countries of the world.

To provide for reliable and responsive telephone and telegraph communications with foreign countries, construction of an international automatic telephone exchange with 1500 channels is under way in Moscow, and the Teleks [Telex] international station in Moscow is being expanded to 2000 numbers. At Moscow's Olympic stadiums, television and radio commentators will have at their disposal permanent and temporary booths equipped with minitors, microphones, and telephones. In Tallin, a 314-meter radio and television tower, as well as a teletype center, automatic telephone exchange, and radiotelephone communications center will be activated before the sailing regatta begins.

Preparation for the 22nd Olympic Games has served as a powerful impetus for strengthening and broadening the international, mutually beneficial economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and dozens of other countries. More than three-fourths of our Olympic needs are provided for by Soviet industry, which is famous for its tremendous capabilities and potential. Many enterprises, construction organizations, and scientific-research organizations took an active part in preparing for the 1980 Olympics. Enterprises in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are supplying nearly 20 percent of the equipment and stock necessary for the Olympic Games. the Hungarian Electroimpex enterprise, which is among the first enterprises to be named "Official Supplier of the 22nd Olympic Games in Moscow," manufactured a large number of the display panels. Approximately 5 percent of the equipment and materials for the Games is being supplied by capitalist firms. Their interest in the Olympic Games is one of the concrete manifestations of the international detente.

On 10 August 1975 at a session of the Organizing Committee for the 1980 Olympic Games, the first certificates were given to enterprises which had completed preparations for manufacturing items with the Olympic seal. Now more than 2000 Soviet enterprises have received the authorization from the Organizing Committee to produce more than 12,000 such items.

An integral part of the Olympic Games is their cultural program. Those who come to the Games will be able not only to see the athletes contending, but also to get an impression of the spirit of the city that is holding the Olympic Games, its people, its cultural achievements, and their cultural traditions. For Olympians, the cultural program is also a necessary respite after the tension of the sports competition. Musicians, actors, poets, and artists will help to create the atmosphere of a genuine

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worldwide holiday during the days of the Games.

It has been noted that during the Olympic Games tourists will be spending no more than a third of their time at the competitions. Those planning the Moscow Olympics are making it their goal to make the most efficient use of the tourists' remaining time. The basic outlines of extensive and interesting cultural programs, including visits to theaters, concerts, exhibits, museums, and excursions to sightseeing spots, have been developed. The life of the Soviet people is a satisfying, full-blooded life. Our guests will be impressed by this even in the relatively short time of their stay in the USSR.

Many masterpieces of Russian architecture will be "born again" during the days of preparation for the Olympic Games. During the 1976-1980 period, the Soviet government has earmarked tens of millions of rubles for the restoration of historical and cultural monuments. A total of 176 Moscow architectural monuments, including the Kuskovo, Ostankino, and Kolomenskoye estate-museums, the seventeenth-century palaces on Kropotkinskaya Naberezhnaya, the Novo-Devichiy Monastery ensemble, Tsaritsyno, etc. have been rehabilitated and restored. Tourists will see our Suzdal' city reserve, the ancient complexes of Zagorsk, Pereyaslavl', and other cities that surround the capital of the Olympiad.

The Soviet Intourist travel bureau has developed 20 itineraries and types of excursions around the country. The Intourist Olympic program is so set up that it will give foreign guests the maximum information on the past, present, and future of our government. The tourist-excursion organizations of the Soviet trade unions are also playing an active role in the preparations for the 22nd Olympiad. For the summer of 1980, the Central Council on Tourism and Excursions, of the AUCCTU, has planned for the summer of 1980, 37 itineraries for tens of thousands of foreign and Soviet tourists.

In consonance with the principles of the Olympic movement, the content of the cultural program will be determined according to the ideals of peace, friendship, and cooperation among peoples. The repertoire presented by theaters, orchestras, musical groups, individual performers, and amateur singing and dancing groups, as well as the subject matter of the exhibitions and the mass measures to be carried out in parks of culture and rest, in libraries, etc. are answering these tasks.

Special sections of the programs, where joint performances by masters of the performing arts and masters of sports are envisaged, have been dedicated to the topics of the popularization of the Olympic movement.

Exactly one year before the Games of the 1980 Olympiad, in July and August 1979, the Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR will be held. Today this traditional, nationwide sports holiday has special distinguishing marks. According to its time span, program, level of judging, and technical equipment for the sports structures, the Spartakiad will approximate

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the conditions of the 1980 Olympics. It is expected that more than 2000 foreign athletes from all the continents, correspondents, and foreign tourists will come to the Spartakiad. Thus the 15 days of the Spartakiad will be a thorough-going pre-Olympic test not only for the sportsmen, but also for the organizers of the Moscow Olympic Games.

The superb achievements of the Soviet sportsmen and of Muscovites in particular in the world arena and the Olympic Games, the extensive international ties of Soviet sports, and the active participation of Soviet representatives in the activities of various international sports associations played a telling role in favoring Moscow as the host for the 1980 Olympics.

The entry of the USSR National Olympic Committee into the International Olympic Committee in 1951 and the initial participation by Soviet sportsmen in the 15th Olympic Games (Helsinki, 1952) ushered in a new era in the international Olympic movement -- the era of the struggle for the cementing and development of the Olympic ideas, the struggle for fraternity, friendship, and mutual understanding among sportsmen of all nations of the world, and for the true democratization of the Olympic movement and its governing bodies.

From the moment when Nina Romashkova (Ponomareva) became the first of Soviet sports figures to ascend the top rung of the winners' pedestal at the Helsinki Olympics, the Soviet anthem has honored its champion sons and daughters 258 times at Olympic arenas in Helsinki, Melbourne, Rome, Tokyo, Mexico City, Munich, and Montreal. Soviet sportsmen have also captured 221 silver and 204 bronze medals at the Summer Olympics.

The Soviet National Team in the 15th Olympic Games garnered the same number of points as the U. S. sportsmen in the unofficial count. In this manner an end was put to the complete domination of the Olympic Games by the United States. Five more times -- in 1956, 1960, 1964, 1972, and 1976 -- Soviet sportsmen took first place in all events and only once (Mexico City, 1968) did they take second place, falling somewhat behind the United States.

At the most recent Games, the 21st Olympics in Montreal, Soviet sportsmen collected 125 medals, including 47 gold, 43 silver, and 35 bronze, collecting 788.5 points in the unofficial team total. The East German National Team was second on all counts, having edged the U. S. Team into third place.

It is interesting in this regard to stress that the largest countries in the capitalist world, which in the recent past occupied a notable position in world sports (England, France, Italy, etc.) were not even among the top ten Olympic powers, whereas six of the socialist countries were represented there. These facts are convincing evidence of the changed social conditions in the socialist countries, where physical education and sports serve humanitarian goals and are placed at the service of the education and physical improvement of man.



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Upon entering the International Olympic Movement, representatives of Soviet sports solemnly promised from the rostrum of the session of the International Olympic Committee to faithfully observe the Olympic traditions, to multiply and enrich them, to make their own contribution, to the best of their ability, to the noble concept stated in the Olympic Charter, the concept proclaiming the basic goal of the Games -- to hold great sports holidays, thus creating international trust and promoting the creation of a better and more tranquil world.

Almost three decades have passed since then. The makeup of the USSR Olympic teams has changed many times during that period. But this year's Soviet Olympians, as they prepare for the start of the Moscow Olympics, will also strive to resolve the same noble tasks as their predecessors did. At the Olympic arenas in Moscow they will certainly strive for sports records, thus confirming the inexhaustibility of human strength. But even more important is their goal, as plenipotentiaries of our socialist state and of the Soviet people, to make a contribution constantly and in all forms to the great cause of strengthening the peace and improving mutual understanding, friendship, and trust on earth.

The Moscow Olympics have a characteristic trait, reflecting the principles of the development of sports under conditions of socialism. "The Olympics are not just for Olympians!" That call now sounds throughout our country. Incentives for the 1980 Olympics also nourish the massive physical-culture movement in the USSR. They give new impetus to the increase in the mass nature of sports and the exhibition of sports talent, but, most importantly, they serve to strengthen the health of Soviet citizens and to educate a harmoniously developed individual.

The traditional All-Union Pioneer Games under the symbolic name "The Start of Hopes" enjoy special popularity among young Soviet children. Twenty-three million children took part in them in 1978 alone. Under the invocatory and stirring motto, "Olympians Are Among Us," they hold competitions in classrooms and contests in the construction of school stadiums.

The task facing us is to make active use of the pre-Olympic period to popularize sports among all the age and social groups of the Soviet Union. More than 3000 stadiums, approximately 66,000 gymnasiums, and more than 600,000 playing fields have been put at the disposal of the Soviet nation, free of charge. Preparation for the 22nd Olympic Games has promoted new forms of mass initiative. In Estonia the Yyud trade-union sports society has developed the mass movement under the slogan "An Olympic Hope for Every Rayon." In Leningrad, street Spartakiads and family matches for a number of types of sports are held under the motto "From the Outdoor Stadium to the Olympic Forum." In Lithuania, the symbolic run "From the Amber Baltic to the Olympic Moscow" is popular.

The holding of the Olympic Games in Moscow will serve as a new upsurge in sports both in the capital and throughout our country, will promote the

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fundamental task set forth by the CPSU -- the task of introducing physical culture and sports into the everyday life of the people and of making the sports movement nationwide,

Of course, only several hundred of the 76 million Soviet people who are now involved in various forms of sports activities will succeed in getting onto the Olympic team. But each of them, in joining the fascinating world of sports, senses his or her participation in the Olympic movement and knows that the main thing in the Olympic concept is not victory but participation, sport for the sake of satisfaction, sport as a necessity of life.

The most varied components constitute the totality of that vast concept -- the preparation for the 22nd Olympic Games. But forming the very basis of that concept is the large amount of intensive labor about which L. I. Brezhnev said, when speaking to the 1976 Olympians, "At the present time Soviet citizens are carrying out the preparations for the 1980 Moscow Olympics and they will do everything to make sure that those Games are conducted on a high level, providing new impetus for the noble ideas of friendship and peace."

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